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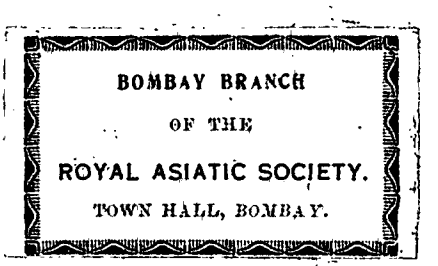

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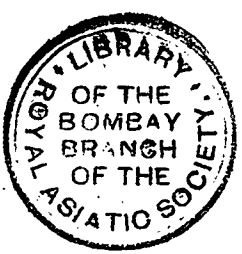
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HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION,

FROM

1789 TO 1814.

BY A. F. MIGNET.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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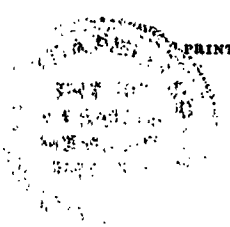

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HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER VIII.

Insurrection of the departments against the proceedings of the 31st May, continued.—Reverses on the frontiers; progress of the Vendeans.—The Mountain decrees the constitution of 1793, and immediately suspends it in order to maintain and strengthen the revolutionary government.—Levy *en masse*.—Law of the suspected.—Victories of the Mountain in the interior and upon the frontiers.—Death of the queen; of the twenty-two Girondists, &c.—Committee of public safety; its power; the members of it.—Republican calendar. The conquerors of the 31st May divide.—The ultra-revolutionary faction of the commune, or Libertists, abolish Catholicism, and decree the worship of Reason; its contest with the committee of public safety; its defeat.—The moderate faction of the Mountain, or Dantonists, try to destroy the revolutionary dictatorship, and to establish legal government; its fall.—The committee of public safety remains alone and triumphant.

THAT the Girondists would not submit to their defeat, and that an insurrection of the

departments against the Mountain and the commune of Paris, would be the consequence of the 31st May, was to be expected. It was the only remaining experiment for them to make: they tried it; but this decisive measure was marked by the same want of concert which had occasioned the loss of their cause in the assembly. But had they even shewn themselves united, it is doubtful whether they would have obtained the victory, and if they had obtained it, it is still more doubtful whether they would have saved the revolution. How could they have effected by law that which the faction of the Mountain only did by violence? How could they have subdued foreign enemies without fanaticism, silenced parties without terror, fed the people without the *maximum*, subsisted the army without exactions? If the result of the 31st May had been directly the reverse, that which was seen at a later period would probably have been displayed from that day, the relaxation of the revolutionary action, the redoubled attacks of Europe, the resumption of arms by all parties, the events of May [prairial] without the power to repress the multitude; those of October [vendemiaire]

without the power to repress the royalists; the invasion, and, according to the policy of the time, the partition of France by the allied powers. The republic was not then strong enough to withstand so many attacks, as it was after the reaction of July [thermidor].

However this might be, the Girondists, who should either have remained together, or fought together, did neither the one nor the other; but after the 2nd June, all the moderate men of the party remained under the decree of arrest, and the residue withdrew to a distance. Vergniaud, Gensonné, Ducos, Fonfrède, were amongst the first: Petion, Barbaroux, Guadet, Louvet, Buzot, Lanjuinais, amongst the second. They retired to Evreux, in the department of the Eure, where Buzot had great influence, and thence to Caen, in the Calvados. They made this town the centre of insurrection. Brittany lost no time in joining it. The insurgents, under the name of the assembly of the departments, convened at Caen, collected an army, gave the command to general Wimphen, arrested the Mountainists Romme and Prieur de la Marne, commissaries of the convention, and prepared to march to Paris. From Caen it was that a

beautiful and brave young maiden, Charlotte Corday, set off to punish Marat, the principal author of the proceedings of the 31st May and 2nd June. She thought to save the republic by sacrificing herself: but the tyranny did not hang upon one man; it depended upon a party, and the state of violence in which the republic was placed. Charlotte Corday,* after having effected her generous but useless enterprise, died with an unalterable serenity and a modest courage, accompanied with the satisfaction of having performed what she conceived a noble action. But Marat became after his assassination an object of still greater enthusiasm than he had been during his life-time. He was invoked in the public squares, his bust was seen in all

* Some of the answers of this heroic girl when before the revolutionary tribunal, are as follow:—"What was your design in killing Marat?"—"To put an end to the troubles of France."—"Is it long since you formed this project?"—"Since the affair of the 31st May, the day of the proscription of the deputies of the people."—"Then you learned from the journals that Marat was an anarchist?"—"Yes, I know that it was he who corrupted France. I have killed," said she, raising her voice to a high pitch, "one man to save a hundred thousand; a depraved wretch to save the innocent; a ferocious monster to procure peace to my country. I was a republican before the revolution, and I never wanted energy."

popular assemblies, and the convention was forced to grant him the honours of the Pantheon.

At the same time Lyons rose up, Marseilles and Bordeaux took arms, and more than sixty departments joined the insurrection. These measures soon caused a general rising of all parties, and the royalists availed themselves of the movements which the Girondists had commenced. Lyons became the centre of the insurrection of the royalists. This city was strongly attached to the ancient order of things: its manufactures in silk, and embroidery in gold and silver, rendered it dependent on the higher classes: it was necessary therefore to declare in good time against a social innovation which confounded old relations, and which, in degrading the nobility and clergy, destroyed its trade. Thus Lyons in 1790, even under the constituent assembly, when the emigrant princes were in its neighbourhood (at the court of Turin) had made attempts at insurrection. Although these attempts, directed by the nobility and clergy, had been repressed, the spirit still remained the same. There, as elsewhere, after the 10th August, a revolution by the multi-

tude, and the establishment of its government, had been attempted. Châlier, a fanatical imitator of Marat, was at the head of the Jacobins, the sans-culottes, and the municipality of Lyons. His audacity had increased since the massacres of September and of 21st January. Nothing however had yet been decided between the lower class of republicans and the middle class of royalists; one of whom possessed the seat of power in the municipality, and the other in the sections. But the contest having become more violent towards the end of May, they fought, and the sections prevailed. The municipality was besieged and taken by storm. Châlier, who withdrew himself, was taken, and some time afterwards executed. The sections not being yet in a situation to throw off their dependence on the convention, excused themselves for what had occurred, by the necessity in which the Jacobins and the members of the municipality had placed them of resorting to violence. The convention, whose existence depended on its boldness, would not listen to them. During these transactions the events of June took place, the insurrection of the Calvados became generally known, and the Lyonese, thus en-

couraged, no longer hesitated to raise the standard of revolt. They put their city in a state of defence; they raised fortifications, formed an army of twenty thousand men, received emigrants amongst them, gave the command of their forces to the royalist Précy and to the marquis de Virieux, and concerted their intended operations with the king of Sardinia.

The revolt of Lyons was the more to be feared by the convention, because, being in the centre of France, it was supported by the south, which took arms, whilst the west was also in motion. At Marseilles, the news of the 31st May had raised the partisans of the Gironde: Rebecqui had resorted thither in great haste; the sections had become reunited; the members of the revolutionary tribunal were put out of the protection of the law; the two representatives, Baux and Antiboul were arrested; and an army of ten thousand men raised to march against Paris. These measures proceeded from the royalists, these, as in other places, only waiting for an opportunity of restoring their party, had at first presented themselves under the semblance of republicans, and had ended by

acting in their own character. They seized upon the sections, and then the commotion no longer operated in favour of the Girondists, but of the counter-revolutionists. As soon as there is a revolt, the party whose opinions go farthest, and whose aim is the most precise, prevails over the rest of its associates. On perceiving the new direction of the insurrection, Rebecqui had thrown himself in despair into Marseilles. The insurgents took the road to Lyons, and their example was quickly followed by Toulon, Nismes, Montauban, and the principal towns of the south. In the Calvados the insurrection became distinguished by the same character of royalism, as soon as the marquis de Puisaye had, at the head of some troops, introduced himself into the ranks of the Girondists. The towns of Bordeaux, Nantes, Brest, and L'Orient, were favourable to those of the Gironde, who were proscribed on the 2nd June, and some actually declared for them; but they afforded no effectual aid, for they were either restrained by the Jacobin party, or diverted by the necessity of opposing the royalists in the west.

The latter, during this almost general rising

of the departments, extended their enterprises. The Vendeans, after their first victories, had seized upon Bressuire, Argenton, and Thouars. Being entirely masters of their own country, they formed the design of occupying the frontiers and of opening the road to the revolutionary part of France, as well as a communication with England. On the 6th June, the Vendean army, composed of forty thousand men, under Cathelineau, Lescure, Stofflet, and Larochejacquelin, marched upon Saumur, which they carried with great spirit. They next prepared to attack and take Nantes, to secure the possession of their own country, and make themselves masters of the river Loire. Cathelineau departed from Saumur at the head of the Vendean troops, leaving a garrison there; took Angers, passed the Loire, made a feint of marching upon Tours and Mans, and then threw himself on the side of Nantes, which he attacked on the right bank, whilst Charette was to attack it on the left.

Everything seemed to conspire to overthrow the convention. Its armies were beaten in the north and at the Pyrenees, and at the same time it was threatened by the Lyonese

in the centre, the Marseillese in the south, the Girondists in one part of the west, and the Vendeans in the other. That military reaction, which, after the brilliant campaigns of Argonne and the Netherlands had taken place, in consequence more especially of the disagreement between Dumouriez and the Jacobins, and between the army and the government, had become much more decided since the defection of the general-in-chief. There was no longer agreement in their operations, ardour in the troops, or concert between the convention, now occupied with its own quarrels, and the dispirited generals. The wreck of Dumouriez's army had been collected together at the camp of Famars, under the command of Dampierre; but they were compelled, after a defeat, to retire under the walls of Bouchain. Dampierre was killed. From Dunkirk to Givet, the frontier was threatened by a superior force. Custine was suddenly recalled from the Moselle to the army of the north, but his presence did not re-establish affairs. Valenciennes, the key of France, was taken; Condé shared the same fate; and the army, driven from one position to another, retired behind the Scarpe

in front of Arras, the last post for retreat between them and Paris. In another quarter, Mayence, suffering from famine, and briskly pressed by the enemy, lost all hope of being relieved by the army of the Moselle, which was then reduced to a state of inaction; and despairing of being able to hold out any longer, it capitulated. The situation of the republic could not be worse.

The convention was in some measure taken by surprise. It was disorganized, because it had just issued from a struggle, and the government of the victors had not yet had sufficient time to become established. After the 2nd June, before the danger became so pressing in the departments and upon the frontiers, the Mountain had sent commissioners from all parts, and had begun to occupy itself with the constitution, which had been so long expected, and from which it hoped so much. The Girondists had been desirous of having it decreed before the 21st January, that, by substituting the order of law for a state of revolution, they might save Louis XVI. They made a similar attempt before the 31st May, that they might avert their own proscription. But the Mountainists

had twice diverted the assembly from this discussion by two strokes of policy,—the sentence of Louis XVI, and the banishment of the Girondists. Being now masters of the field, they hastened to bring back the republicans to their party by decreeing the constitution. Hérault de Sechelles was the legislator of the Mountain, as Condorcet had been of the Gironde. In a few days this new constitution was adopted by the convention, and submitted to the acceptance of the primary assemblies. With the ideas which then prevailed on the subject of democratic government, its nature may be easily conceived. The constituents were looked upon as aristocrats: the law which they had established was considered as an infraction on the rights of the people, because it imposed conditions upon the exercise of political rights; because it did not establish the most absolute equality; because, by its provisions, deputies and magistrates were to be named by the electors, and the electors by the people; because, in certain cases, it limited the sovereignty of the nation, excluding a part of the active citizens from great public offices, and the lowest grade of the people from the

functions of active citizens; lastly, instead of fixing population as the sole basis of rights, it was combined in all its operations with wealth. The constitutional law of 1793 established the pure government of the multitude: not only were the people acknowledged to be the source of all power, but the exercise of that power was delegated to them. A government without limits; an extremely rapid succession in the magistracy; direct elections without any delegation, in which every one joined; primary assemblies, which met at an appointed time without being convened, which named representatives and controuled their acts; a national assembly annually renewed, and which was, properly speaking, nothing more than a committee of the primary assemblies: such was this constitution. As it made over the government to the multitude, as it placed the power in a disorganized body, it would have been at all times impracticable; but at a period of general warfare it was peculiarly so. The faction of the Mountain, instead of extreme democracy, stood in need of the most absolute dictatorship. The constitution was no sooner made than suspended, and the revolutionary government,

whilst they were amending it, was maintained until the peace.

During the discussion of the constitution, and when it was sent to the primary assemblies, the Mountain learned the extent of the danger with which it was threatened. Having to unite three or four parties in the interior, to put an end to civil wars of various kinds, to repair the disasters of the army, and to repel the whole of Europe, these bold men were not intimidated at their situation. The representatives of forty-four thousand municipalities came to accept the constitution. Having, when admitted to the bar of the assembly, signified the consent of the people, they demanded *the arrest of all suspected persons, and a general rising of the people.* "Very well," exclaimed Danton, "let us consent to their wish! The deputies of the primary assemblies have begun to exercise amongst us the system of terror. I demand that the convention, which ought now to feel its whole dignity, for it has just been clothed with the whole authority of the nation; I demand that, by a decree, it invest the commissioners of the primary assemblies with the right to report the state of arms, of provisions, and of am-

munition, to make an appeal to the people, to excite the energy of the citizens, and to put four hundred thousand men in requisition. It is by the sound of our cannon that we must make our constitution known to our enemies! This is the time to take that great and last oath, that we will die, or annihilate the tyrants!" The oath was immediately taken by every one of the deputies and citizens in the hall. A few days afterwards, Barrère, in the name of the committee of public safety—which was revolutionarily composed, and which became the centre of operations and the power which governed the assembly,—proposed still more general measures. "Liberty," said he, "is become the creditor of every citizen; the industry of some, the fortune of others, is due to her; these owe her their counsels, those their arms —all owe her their blood. Thus, then, every Frenchman, each sex, all ages, are called by their country to the defence of liberty. Every physical and moral faculty, all the powers of policy or industry, belong to her; every metal, all the elements, are her tributaries. Let every one occupy his post in the national and military commotion which is now preparing.

The young men shall fight; the married men shall forge arms, transport the baggage and artillery, and prepare the provisions; the women shall make clothes and tents for the soldiers, and extend their kind offices to the wounded in the hospitals; children shall manufacture lint for them, and the old men shall resume the occupation which they had amongst the ancients, shall cause themselves to be carried into the public places, where they shall excite the courage of the youthful warriors, and infuse into all a hatred of kings and propagate the unity of the republic. The national buildings shall be converted into barracks; the market-places into workshops; cellars shall be used for preparing saltpetre; all the saddle-horses will be required for the cavalry, all the carriage-horses for the artillery; fowling-pieces, bayonets, and pikes shall be appropriated for the service of the interior. The republic is nothing more than a great city besieged; France must be nothing more than one vast camp." The measures proposed by Barrère were instantly decreed: all Frenchmen from eighteen to twenty-five years of age took arms; the armies were recruited by levies of men, and contributions of provisions

were levied for its support. The republic had soon forty armies, and twelve hundred thousand soldiers: France became, on the one hand, a camp and a workshop for the republicans, and on the other, a prison for the disaffected. In marching against their avowed enemies, they determined to secure their secret ones, and the famous *law of the suspected* [loi des suspects] was carried. Strangers were arrested on account of their plots, and the partisans of the constitutional monarchy or of a moderate republic were imprisoned, that they might be secured until the peace. This, at the present time, was but a measure of precaution. Merchants, citizens, the middling class, furnished prisoners after the 31st May, as the nobility and clergy had done after the 10th August. A revolutionary army of six thousand soldiers and one thousand artillerymen was created for the interior. Every poor citizen was allowed forty sous a day, that he might assist in the assemblies of the sections. Certificates of citizenship were delivered that they might be assured of the opinion of those who co-operated in the revolutionary movement. They placed the public functionaries under the inspection of the clubs, and formed

a revolutionary committee in each section; on every side they presented a bold front, both to their enemies abroad and the insurgents at home.

Those of the Calvados were easily subdued; at the first onset at Vernon the insurgent troops took to flight. Wimpfen attempted to rally them, but without success. The moderate class, who had joined in the defence of the Gironde, exhibited little ardour, and rendered no effectual aid. When the constitution was generally adopted by the departments, this class availed itself of that opportunity to acknowledge its error in having supposed that it was rising against a factious minority. This retraction occurred at Caen, which had been the centre of the revolt. The commissioners of the Mountain did not stain their first victory by executions. On the other side, general Carteaux, at the head of some troops, marched against the army of the southern sections: he remained master of the field in two engagements, pursued it to Marseilles, and entered the town at its heels. Provence would have been subdued like the Calvados, if the royalists, who had sought refuge in Toulon after their defeat, had not

called the English to their assistance; and placed in their hands this key of France. Admiral Hood took possession of the town in the name of Louis XVII, whom he proclaimed king, disarmed the fleet, transported thither eight thousand Spaniards by sea, occupied the surrounding forts, and compelled Carteaux, who was advancing against Toulon, to fall back upon Marseilles.

Notwithstanding this reverse, the constitutionalists had contrived to isolate the insurrection, and thus effected an important object. The commissioners of the Mountain had made their entrance into the revolted capitals: Robert Lindet into Caen; Talien into Bordeaux; Barras and Fréron into Marseilles. There were only two towns to take, Toulon and Lyons. They ceased to fear a concerted attack from the south, the west, and the centre; and, in the interior, all their enemies were upon the defensive. Lyons was besieged by Kellermann, the general of the army of the Alps; three corps pressed the town on all sides. The old soldiers of the Alps, the revolutionary battalions, and the newly levied troops poured in every day to the assistance of the assailants; but the Lyonese defended themselves

with a courage derived from despair. At first they relied upon the aid of the southern insurgents; but the latter, having been driven back by Carteaux, the Lyonese turned their last hopes to the side of the Piedmontese army, who attempted a diversion in their favour, but they were beaten by Kellermann. Being more warmly pressed, their first positions were carried. Famine made its appearance amongst them, and their courage fell. The royalist leaders, convinced of the uselessness of longer resistance, quitted the town, and the republican army entered its walls, where they awaited the orders of the convention. Some months afterwards Toulon itself, defended by seasoned troops and formidable fortifications, fell into the hands of the republicans. The battalions of the army of Italy, reinforced by those whom the defeat of the Lyonese rendered disposable, attacked the town with great ardour. After repeated attacks and prodigies of valour and skill, they made themselves masters of it: the capture of Toulon completed what that of Lyons had begun.

The convention was everywhere victorious. The Vendeans had failed in their enterprise

against Nantes, after having experienced the loss of many men and of their commander, Cathelineau. This was the last of their aggressive operations, and from that period the fortune of the Vendean insurrection declined. The royalists repassed the Loire, abandoned Saumur, and resumed their old cantonments: they were however still very formidable, and the republicans who pursued them were once more defeated on Vendean ground.

General Biron, who had succeeded Berruyer, continued the war with small bodies of troops with great disadvantage. His moderation and his bad system of attack occasioned his being superseded by Canclaux and Rossignol who were not, however, more successful. There were two chiefs, two armies, and two centres of operation; one at Nantes and the other at Saumur, places under the influence of different parties. General Canclaux could not agree with general Rossignol, nor the commissary of the moderate party of the Mountain, Philipeaux, with Bourbotte, the commissary of the committee of public safety; and this attempt at invasion failed, like the former ones, from want of concert in their measures and union in their operations. The

committee of public safety soon supplied a remedy in appointing commander-in-chief, Léchelle, and in introducing war on a larger scale into La Vendée. This new method, seconded by the garrison of Mayence, consisting of seventeen thousand veterans, who, being no longer able to serve against the coalition after their capitulation, were employed in the interior, changed the face of the war. The royalists experienced four successive defeats; two at Châtillon, and two at Cholet. Lescure, Bonchamps, and d'Ebée, were mortally wounded; and the insurgents, totally defeated in Upper Vendée, fearing if they took refuge in the Lower that they should be exterminated, decided upon quitting their country, to the number of eighty thousand. This emigration across Brittany, in which they hoped to effect an insurrection, proved fatal to them. Repulsed before Granville, completely routed at Mans, they were destroyed at Savenay; and of the wreck of this vast emigration, a few thousand men with difficulty re-entered La Vendée. These irreparable disasters of the royalist cause, the capture of the island of Noirmoutiers from Charette, the dispersion of the troops of this chief, and the death

of La Rochejacquelin, rendered the republicans masters of the country. The committee of public safety thinking, not without cause, that its enemies, although subdued, were not disposed to submission, adopted a terrible system of extermination, to prevent their recovering themselves. General Thurreau surrounded the reduced La Vendée with sixteen entrenched camps; twelve columns, known by the name of the *infernal columns*, scoured the country with fire and sword, explored the woods, carried off those who were collected together, and spread terror throughout this unfortunate country.

The foreign armies had also been driven from the frontiers which they had invaded. After having taken Valenciennes and Condé, blockaded Maubeuge and Le Quesnoy, the enemy had marched upon Cassel, Hondscoote, and Furnes, under the command of the duke of York. The committee of public safety, dissatisfied with Custines, who was also suspected to be a Girondist, replaced him by general Houchard. The enemy, until that period victorious, was defeated at Hondscoote, and forced to retreat. A military reaction commenced with the decisive measures of

the committee of public safety. Houchard himself was dismissed. Jourdan took the command of the army of the north, gained the important victory of Watignies against the prince of Cobourg, forced the enemy to raise the siege of Maubeuge, and reassumed the offensive on this frontier. The same was effected upon all the other frontiers. The immortal campaign of 1793 and 1794 was opened: what Jourdan did with the army of the north, Hoche and Pichegru did with the army of the Moselle, and Kellermann with that of the Alps. The enemy was everywhere repulsed and everywhere held in. The same thing which occurred after the 10th August, took place after the 31st May. The harmony, which had been interrupted between the generals and the leaders of the assembly, was re-established; the revolutionary action, which had abated, again increased; and victory, suspended during this long period, returned to them. Armies, like parties, have their crises, and these crises always produce reverses or success, after the same law.

At the commencement of the war in 1792, the generals were constitutionalists, and the ministers Girondists; Rochambeau, La Fayette, and Luckner, did not agree very well

with Dumouriez, Servan, Claviére, and Roland. There was besides but little ardour in the army: they were beaten. After the 10th August, the Girondist generals Dumouriez, Custines, Kellermann, and Dillon, succeeded the constitutional generals; an unity of object, of confidence, and of action, existed between the army and the government. The events of the 10th August, by shewing them the necessity of victory, increased their energy; and the consequence was the plan of the campaign of Argonne, the victory of Walmy, of Jemmapes, and the invasion of the Netherlands. The struggle between the Mountain and the Gironde, Dumouriez and the Jacobins, once more introduced disagreement between the army and the government, and destroyed the confidence of the troops, who experienced sudden and numerous reverses. There was a revolt on the part of Dumouriez, as there had been on the part of La Fayette. After the 31st May, which was the 10th August against the Gironde; after the committee of public safety had commenced its sittings, and had displaced the Girondist generals Dumouriez, Custines, Houchard, and Dillon, in favour of Jourdan, Hoche, Pichegru,

and Moreau, generals of the faction of the Mountain; after it had re-established the revolutionary movement by the vigorous measures of which we have given an account, the campaign of Argonne and of the Netherlands was renewed in that of 1794, and the genius of Carnot equalled, if it did not surpass, that of Dumouriez.

During the continuance of this war, the committee of public safety abandoned itself to the most terrible executions. Armies destroy only on the field of battle: it is a different thing with parties who, in violent situations, fearing that the struggle may be renewed even after victory, fortify themselves against new attempts by the most inexorable rigour. The practice of all governments being to establish their continuance as a right, those who attack them are enemies whilst they fight, and conspirators when they are conquered, and are therefore killed both by means of war and of the law. All these motives influenced at the same time the policy of the committee of public safety; a policy of vengeance, of terror, and of self preservation. These are the maxims according to which they acted with respect to the insurgent

towns. "The name of Lyons," said Barrére, "ought no longer to exist. You will call it *Ville-Affranchie*, (freed town) and upon the ruins of this infamous city a monument shall be raised which will attest the crime and the punishment of the enemies of liberty. A single word will speak the whole: *Lyons made war against Liberty—Lyons is no more.*" In order to realize this frightful denunciation, the committee sent Collot-d'Herbois, Fouché, and Couthon, into this devoted town, who demolished its buildings and butchered the inhabitants with cannon. The insurgents of Toulon experienced from their representatives, Barras and Fréron, almost a similar fate. At Caen, Marseilles, and Bordeaux, the executions were less general and less violent, for they were proportioned to the importance of the insurrection, which was interior, and not connected with foreign enemies.

In the centre, the dictatorial government aimed a blow at the highest and most distinguished in all the parties with which they were engaged. The condemnation of the queen, Marie Antoinette, was directed against Europe; that of the *twenty-two*, against the Gironde; that of the enlightened Bailly, against the old constitutionalists:

lastly, that of the duke of Orleans, against certain members of the Mountain who were supposed to have entered into a combination to effect his elevation. The unfortunate widow of Louis XVI was the first who was sent to the scaffold by the sanguinary tribunal of the revolution. Those who were proscribed on the 2nd June very soon followed: she perished on the 16th October, and the Girondist deputies on the 31st. There were among the twenty-one, Brissot, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Fonfrède, Ducos, Valazé, Lasource, Silléry, Gardien, Carra, Duprat, Beauvais, Duchâtel, Mainvielle, Lacaze, Boileau, Lehardy, Antiboul, and Vigée. Seventy-three of their colleagues, who had protested against their arrest, were also imprisoned, but they durst not inflict upon them the same punishment. During the debates, these illustrious accused displayed the most calm and sustained courage. The eloquent voice of Vergniaud was heard for an instant but in vain. Valazé, on hearing his sentence, dispatched himself with a poniard; and Lasource exclaimed to the judges: "*I die at a moment when the people have lost their reason; you will die the day they shall recover it.*" The prisoners went to their punishment with all the stoicism of that

time. They sung the Marseillaise, applying it to their own situation:

Allons, enfants de la patrie,
Le jour de gloire est arrivé:
Contre nous de la tyrannie
Le couteau sanglant est levé! etc.

Almost all the other chiefs of this party experienced an unhappy fate. Salles, Gaudet, and Barbaroux, were discovered in the caves of Saint Emilion, near Bordeaux, and they perished upon the popular scaffold. Pétion and Buzot, after having wandered about for some time, put an end to their own existence: they were found dead in a field, and half devoured by the wolves. Rabaud Saint Etienne was betrayed by an old friend; madame Roland was also condemned, and displayed the courage of a Roman matron. Her husband, on learning her death, quitted his place of concealment, and killed himself upon the highway. Condorcet, who was outlawed some time after the 2nd June, was discovered as he was flying from the executioner, and he only escaped the scaffold by the aid of poison. Louvet, Kervelegan, Lanjuinais, Henri-la-Rivière, Le Sage, La Réveillère-Lepeaux, were the only ones who

awaited in secure retreat the end of this furious tempest.

The revolutionary government was formed. Before the 31st May, the supreme power was neither in the ministry, in the commune, nor in the convention. It was natural that this power should be concentrated when the want of union and vigorous action was felt. The assembly being the most central, and at the same time most extended authority, the dictatorship would naturally be placed in its hands, be exercised by the dominant faction, and by a few men in that faction. The committee of public safety, which had been some time created in order to provide, as its name indicates, for the defence of the revolution by urgent and extraordinary measures, was a frame of government already made. Being appointed during the divisions between the Mountain and the Gironde, it had been composed of neutral conventionalists until the 31st May; at its first renewal, it became composed of ultra members of the Mountain: Barrère remained, but Robespierre was chosen a member, and his party governed it by Saint-Just, Couthon, Collot-d'Herbois, and Billaud-Varennes. He neutralized a few Dantonists,

who were still members, such as Herault de Séchelles and Robert Lindet; gained Barrère; assumed the government of the committee, by taking upon himself that department which related to public opinion and the police. His associates distributed the remaining departments amongst themselves: Saint-Just took that of the *surveillance* and denunciation of parties; Couthon that of violent propositions which required being mitigated in form; Billaud-Varennes and Collot-d'Herbois directed the proconsulships in the departments; Carnot was occupied with the war; Cambon with the finances; Prieur de la Côte-d'Or, Prieur de la Marne, and some others, with matters relative to the interior and to the administration; and Barrère was the daily orator and the ever-ready eulogist of the dictatorial committee. Below was placed, as an auxiliary in the details of the revolutionary administration, and in measures of minor importance, the committee of general safety, composed in the same spirit as the great committee, and having also twelve members re-eligible every three months, and perpetual in their functions. In the hands of these men the whole revolution-

ary force was placed. In obtaining a decree in favour of the decemviral powers until the peace, Saint-Just had concealed neither the motives nor the end of this dictatorship. "You have no longer any measures to keep with the enemies of the new order of things; liberty ought to have the victory, at whatever price. Under the circumstances in which the republic is placed, the constitution cannot be established; it would become the guarantee of all attempts against liberty, because it would want that violence which is necessary to repress them. The present government also is too much embarrassed. You are too distant from the seats of all these designs; the sword of justice should penetrate into every place with rapidity, and your arms should be everywhere present." Thus was created that terrible power which first destroyed the enemies of the Mountain, afterwards the Mountain and the commune, and which only ended in destroying itself. The committee disposed of everything in the name of the convention, which served as its instrument. It was this power which named and displaced generals, ministers, representative commissaries, judges and juries; it

was it which attacked the different factions; it was it which originated every measure. Through its commissaries, the armies and generals were rendered dependent upon it, and it directed the departments in an absolute manner; by the law of *the suspected*, it disposed of the persons of all; by the revolutionary tribunal, of their lives; by *requisitions* and the *maximum*, of their fortunes; and by the terrified convention, of the decrees of accusation against its own members. Lastly, its dictatorship was supported by the multitude, who deliberated in the clubs, governed in the revolutionary committees, whose cooperation was purchased by a daily allowance, and who were maintained by the *maximum:* it adhered to this government, which exalted its passions, which exaggerated its importance, placed it in the first rank, and appeared to do everything for it. These innovators, separated by the war and by their laws from all states and all forms of government, were desirous of being still further separated from them. They established, for an unheard-of revolution, an entirely new era; they changed the divisions of the year, the names of the months and of the days; for the chris-

tian calendar they substituted the republican calendar, for the week the decade, and made every tenth day, instead of Sunday, the day of rest. The new era was dated from the 22nd September 1792, the epoch of the foundation of the republic. They had twelve equal months, consisting of thirty days each, which commenced on the 22nd September, in the following order: *vendémiaire, brumaire, frimaire,* for the autumn; *nivose, pluviose, ventose,* for the winter; *germinal, floréal, prairial,* for the spring; *messidor, thermidor, fructidor,* for the summer. Each month contained three decades, each decade ten days, and each day received its name from its place in the decade; they were called *primidi, duodi, tridi, quartidi, quintidi, sextidi, septidi, octidi, nonidi, décadi.* The five supernumerary days were thrown to the end of the year, to make up the whole; they were called the Sans-Culottides, and were consecrated, the first to the festival of *Genius,* the second to that of *Labour,* the third to that of *Deeds,* the fourth to that of *Rewards,* the fifth to that of *Opinion.* The constitution of 1793 led to the republican calendar, and the republican calendar to the abolition of christian worship. We shall soon

see the commune and the committee of public safety proposing each their own system: the commune the worship of reason; the committee of public safety the worship of the Supreme Being. But it is first necessary to give an account of a new contest between the authors themselves of the catastrophe of the 31st May.

The commune and the Mountain had effected this revolution against the Gironde, and the committee alone had profited by it. During the five months of which we have just given an account, from June to November, the committee, having taken every measure of defence, had naturally become the first power in the republic. The contest having in some degree terminated, the commune aspired to rule the committee; and the Mountain not to be ruled by it. The municipal faction was the last step of the revolution. Opposed in its aim to the committee of public safety, it wanted, instead of the dictatorship of the convention, the most extreme local democracy, and instead of worship, the consecration of materialism. Political anarchy and religious atheism were the symbols of this party, and the means upon which it relied for

establishing its own domination. A revolution is the effect of different systems which have agitated the age out of which it originates. Thus, during the crisis in France, ultra-montane catholicism was represented by the refractory clergy; Jansenism, by the constitutional clergy; philosophical deism, by the worship of the Supreme Being which was instituted by the committee of public safety; the materialism of the society of Holbach, by the worship of reason and of nature which was decreed by the commune. It was the same with political opinions, from the royalty of the old government to the unlimited democracy of the municipal faction. The last, in Marat, had lost its principal support and real leader, whilst the committee of public safety had kept Robespierre as their's. It had at its head men who enjoyed extreme popularity amongst the lower class. Chaumette, and his substitute Hébert, were its political chiefs; Ronsin, commander of the revolutionary army, its general; and the atheist Anacharsis Clootz, its apostle. It was supported in the sections by the revolutionary committees, which contained many obscure foreigners, who were supposed, and

not without some appearance of truth, to be the agents of England, for the purpose of destroying the republic by driving it to excess and anarchy. The club of the cordeliers was solely composed of its partisans. The old cordeliers of Danton, who had so powerfully contributed to the 10th August, and who had formed the commune of this period, had been taken into the government, into the convention, and they had been replaced in the club by members whom they termed with contempt, *patriots of the third requisition.*

The faction of Hébert, who in Père Duchêne gave popularity to obscene language, and low and cruel sentiments, and who mingled derision with the executions of the victims of his party, made in a little time a formidable progress. They forced the bishop of Paris and his vicars to abjure christianity at the bar of the convention, and the convention to decree that *the worship of reason should be substituted for the catholic worship.* The churches were shut up, or transformed into temples of reason, and in all the towns festivals were established, which exhibited scandalous scenes of atheism. The committee of public safety was alarmed at the

power of this ultra-revolutionary faction, and applied itself to arrest and destroy it. Robespierre soon attacked it [5th December 1793, the 15th frimaire, in the year 2] from the tribune of the assembly. "Representative citizens of the people," said he, "the kings who have combined against the republic make war upon us with armies and with intrigues, and we will oppose to their armies braver armies, and to their intrigues the vigilance and the terror of national justice. Always ready again to weave their secret schemes as soon as they are broken by the hand of patriotism, always dexterous to turn the arms of liberty against liberty herself, the emissaries of the enemies of France are now endeavouring to overturn the republic of France by republicanism, and to kindle the flames of civil war by philosophy." He associated the ultra-revolutionists of the commune with the external enemies of the republic. "You have," said he to the convention, "to prevent the extravagances and follies which concur with the schemes of foreign combination. I ask you to prohibit particular authorities (the commune), from assisting our enemies by undigested measures,

and that no armed force may interfere with that which relates to religious opinions." And the convention, which had, at the request of the commune, strongly applauded abjurations, decreed, at the request of Robespierre, that *all outrages against, and measures contrary to, the freedom of worship were prohibited.*

The committee of public safety was too strong not to triumph over the commune; but it had at the same time to resist the moderate party of the Mountain, who demanded the cessation of revolutionary government, and of the dictatorship of the committees. The revolutionary government had only been created to repress, the dictatorship to conquer; and as repression and victory appeared no longer necessary to Danton and his party, they endeavoured to establish legal authority and the independence of the convention; they wished to put down the faction of the commune, to stop the revolutionary tribunal, to empty the prisons, which were filled with the suspected, to reduce the powers of the committees, and to dissolve them. This scheme of clemency, of humanity, and of lawful government, was conceived by Danton, Phi-

lipeaux, Camille-Desmoulins, Fabre d'Eglantine, Lacroix, general Westermann, and all the friends of Danton. They wished, above all things, that the republic should be master of the field of battle; but, after having conquered, they wished for peace.

This party, having become moderate, was deprived of power: it had relinquished the government, or had allowed itself to be excluded by the party of Robespierre. Besides, since the 31st May, the conduct of Danton appeared equivocal to exalted patriots. He had acted faintly on that day, and had since disapproved of the condemnation of *the twenty-two.* They began to reproach him with the disorder of his life, his venal passions, his transitions from one party to another, his ill-timed moderation. To avoid the threatened storm he had retired to Arcis-sur-Aube, and there he appeared to forget everything in repose. During his absence the faction of Hébert had made immense progress, and the friends of Danton recalled him in great haste: he returned at the commencement of December (frimaire). Philipeaux immediately denounced the manner in which the war of La Vendée was conducted: general Wester-

mann, who had gained the victory of Châtillon and of Mans, and who had just been displaced by the committee of public safety, sustained Philipeaux, and Camille-Desmoulins published the first parts of his "Old Cordelier." This brilliant but headstrong young man had followed every movement of the revolution, from the 14th July until the 31st May, approving all its measures and all its excesses. His heart was, however, kind and gentle, although his opinions had been violent and his pleasantries often cruel. He had approved the revolutionary government, because he conceived it indispensable to lay the foundation of the republic; he had co-operated in the ruin of the Gironde, because he feared the dissensions of the republic. The republic! it was to it he had sacrificed even his scruples and his sympathies, his justice and his humanity; he had given everything to his party, thinking he had given it to his country; but now he could no longer approve nor be silent. That vigorous enthusiasm which had been employed in the cause of the revolution he turned against those men who, by staining it with blood, were ruining it. In his "Old Cordelier" he spoke of liberty with the pro-

found sense of Machiavel, and of men with the wit of Voltaire. But in recalling the government to moderation, to mercy, and to liberty, he excited against himself both the fanatics and dictators.

He drew a striking picture of the present under the name of a former tyranny. He borrowed his examples from Tacitus. "At this epoch," said he, "conversation became a state offence: thence only one step was necessary in order to convert mere looks, sorrow, pity, compassion, sighs, silence itself, into crime. It was soon considered treason and conspiracy in behalf of a counter-revolution in Cremutius Cordus, to have called Brutus and Cassius the last of the Romans; the crime of counter-revolution in a descendant of Cassius, to have in his possession a portrait of his great grandfather; the crime of counter-revolution in Mamurcus Scaurus, to have composed a tragedy, containing verses, to which a double meaning might be given; a crime of counter-revolution in Torquatus Silanus, to be of expensive habits; a crime of counter-revolution in Pomponius, because a friend of Sejanus had sought an asylum in one of his country-houses; a crime

of counter-revolution to complain of the miseries of the time, for it was to accuse the government; the crime of counter-revolution in the mother of the consul Fusius Geminus to have wept over the unhappy death of her son.

"It was necessary to manifest joy at the death of a friend or relation, if a man did not wish to expose himself to the same fate. Under Nero, many whose kindred he had put to death went to return thanks to the gods for it. At all events, it was necessary to have an air of contentment: people were afraid, lest fear itself should render them criminal. Everything gave offence to the tyrant. Was a citizen popular? He was a rival of the prince, and might excite a civil war: he was suspected. Did he, on the contrary, shun popularity, and keep at home? This retired life caused him to be observed: he was suspected. Were you rich? There was imminent danger, lest the people should be corrupted by your bounty: you were suspected. Were you poor? You must be more strictly watched; there is no one so enterprising as he who has nothing: you were suspected. Were you of a grave and melancholy character, and of negligent

exterior? The cause of your sadness was the public prosperity: you were suspected. Did a citizen live merrily, and feed luxuriously? It was because the prince was ill: he was suspected. Was he virtuous, austere in his manners? It was a censure upon the court: he was suspected. Was he a philosopher, an orator, a poet? He coveted the possession of more reputation than those who governed: he was suspected. Lastly, had he acquired reputation in war? He was only more dangerous by his talent: it was necessary to get rid of a general, or remove him quickly from the army: he was suspected.

"That a celebrated man, or one merely in office, should die a natural death, was so rare, that historians transmitted it as a memorable event to future ages. The death of so many innocent and commendable citizens seemed a less calamity than the insolence and ill-gotten wealth of their accusers and murderers. Every day, the sacred and inviolable informer made his triumphal entry into the palace of the dead, and brought away some rich inheritance. All these accusers assumed the noblest names; they called themselves Cotta, Scipio, Regulus, Sævius, Severus. Vibius

Serenus, in order to signalize himself by an illustrious beginning, entered an accusation of counter-revolution against his old father, who was already exiled; after which he proudly took upon himself the name of Brutus. Such were the accusers, and such were the judges: the tribunals, the protectors of life and property, had become butcheries; when that which bore the name of punishment and confiscation, was nothing more than robbery and assassination."

Camille-Desmoulins did not confine himself to attacking the revolutionary and dictatorial government; he required the abolition of it: he moved for the establishment of a committee of clemency, as the only means of finishing the revolution and of appeasing parties. His journal produced great effect upon public opinion; it inspired some hope and courage. People inquired of each other in all parts, have you seen the "Old Cordelier?" At the same time Fabre d'Eglantine, Lacroix, and Bourdon de l'Oise, excited the convention to throw off the yoke of the committee; they endeavoured to unite the Mountain, and the right to establish the liberty and power of the assembly. As the committees were all-

powerful, they strove to ruin them by degrees, a course which it was necessary to follow; it was of consequence to change opinion, to encourage the assembly, and, lastly, to oppose a moral against a revolutionary force, the power of the convention against the power of the committee. The Dantonist members of the Mountain attempted to detach Robespierre from the other decemvirs; Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, and Saint-Just, appeared to them to be the only persons irrecoverably attached to the system of terror. Barrère adhered to it through weakness, Couthon through devotion to Robespierre. They hoped to gain the latter to the cause of moderation through his friendship with Danton, by his notions of order, his austere habits, his public profession of virtue, and his pride. He had defended the sixty-three Girondist deputies against the committees and the Jacobins; he had dared to attack Clootz and Hébert as ultra-revolutionists, and he had induced the convention to decree the existence of the Supreme Being. Robespierre possessed the greatest popularity of any man of his time; he was in some measure the moderator of the republic and the dictator of opinion; in gain-

ing him, they calculated upon succeeding with the committees and the commune without compromising the cause of the revolution.

Danton saw him on his return from Arcis-sur-Aube, and they appeared to be on good terms; attached to the Jacobins, he was defended by him. Robespierre read and himself corrected the "Old Cordelier," and approved of it. At that time he professed some principles of moderation; but then all those who had any share in the revolutionary government, or who considered it indispensable, were in a ferment. Billaud-Varennes and Saint-Just openly supported the policy of the committees. In speaking of the latter, Desmoulins had said, "*He considers himself, so long as he carries his head respectably upon his shoulders, as a Saint Sacrement*" [consecrated host]. —"*And I,*" replied Saint-Just, "*will make him carry his like a Saint Denis.*" In the mean time Collot-d'Herbois, who had been out on a mission, arrived; he defended the faction of the fanatics, who had, for a moment, been intimidated. The Jacobins expelled Camille-Desmoulins from their society, and Barrère attacked him in the convention, in the name of the government.

Robespierre himself was not spared: he was accused of *moderatism;* and in the groups which collected, they already began to murmur against him.

As his credit, however, was immense, as they could neither attack nor conquer without him, he was sought after by both sides. Profiting by this superior position, he stood between both parties without adopting either; he endeavoured to put down the leaders of each by those of the other. In this situation, he wished to sacrifice the commune and the anarchists; the committees wished to sacrifice the Mountain and the moderates. They came to an understanding: Robespierre delivered up Danton, Desmoulins, and their friends, to the members of the committee, and the members of the committee delivered up to him Hébert, Clootz, Chaumette, Ronsin, and their accomplices. In at first favouring the moderatists he had prepared the ruin of the anarchists, and he accomplished two ends, which contributed to his domination or to his pride; he ruined a formidable faction, and destroyed a revolutionary reputation, the rival of his own.

Motives of public safety concurred, it must

be confessed, with these combinations of parties. At this period of general outcry against the republic, and of victories which on its part were not yet decisive, the committees did not think that the moment for peace with Europe and their own disaffected had yet arrived, and it appeared impossible for them to continue the war without a dictatorship; besides, they considered the Hébertists as an obscene faction, who, by encouraging anarchy, corrupted the people and assisted the enemy; and the Dantonists, as a party whose political moderation and private immorality compromised and dishonoured the republic. The government therefore proposed to the assembly, through Barrère, the continuation of the war, and an increased activity in its conduct; whilst Robespierre came some days afterwards to require the maintenance of the revolutionary government. He had already declared himself to the Jacobins against the "Old Cordelier," which he had until that time supported. This is the manner in which he repelled legal government. "Without," said he, "tyrants encircle you; within, the friends of tyranny conspire against you, and they will conspire

until crime is divested of hope. We must destroy the internal and external enemies of the republic, or perish with it. But in this situation, the first maxim of your policy ought to be, that the people must be influenced by reason, and the enemies of the people by terror. If the spring of popular government in peace be virtue, the spring of popular government in revolution is at once virtue and terror: virtue, without which terror is fatal; terror, without which virtue is powerless. Subdue then the enemies of liberty by terror, and, as founders of the republic, you will act rightly. The government of the revolution is the despotism of liberty against tyranny."

In this discourse he accused the two factions of the moderates and the ultra-revolutionists, as both wishing to destroy the republic. "They marched," said he, "under different banners and by different roads, but they marched to the same end: that end is the disorganization of popular government, the ruin of the convention, and the triumph of tyranny. One of these factions drives us to weakness, the other to excess."—He prepared the public mind for their banishment, and his

discourse, which was approved without discussion, was sent to all popular societies, to all the authorities, and to the armies.

After this commencement of hostilities, Danton, who had not terminated his connexion with Robespierre, demanded an interview: it took place at Robespierre's house, but they were cold and bitter. Danton complained violently, and Robespierre was reserved. "I know," said Danton, "all the hatred which the committee bears me, but I do not fear it."—"You are wrong," replied Robespierre; "there are no evil intentions against you, but it is good to explain one's self."—"Explain one's self! explain one's self!" retorted Danton; "for that, good faith is necessary." And, observing Robespierre to assume a grave air at these words, "Without doubt," added he, "it is necessary to suppress the royalists, but we only ought to strike blows which are useful to the republic, and it is not necessary to confound the innocent with the guilty."—"Ah! who has told you," replied Robespierre sharply, "that they have caused an innocent person to perish?" Whereupon Danton turned to one of his friends who had accompanied him, and asked, with a bitter smile, "What

sayest thou? Not an innocent has perished!" After these words they separated: all the bonds of friendship were broken.

A few days afterwards Saint-Just mounted the tribune, and threatened more openly than they had yet done all the disaffected, whether moderates or anarchists. "Citizens!" said he, "you have wished for a republic; if you did not wish at the same time for that which constitutes one, it would bury the people under its ruins. That which constitutes a republic is the destruction of all that is opposed to it. They are culpable against the republic who compassionate the detained; they are culpable, who do not desire virtue; they are culpable, who do not desire terror. What do you wish, you who do not desire virtue in order to be happy (the anarchists)? What do you wish, you who do not desire terror against the evil-disposed (the moderates)? What do you wish, you who run through the public squares that you may be seen, and that it may be said of you, See! see! such a one is passing (Danton)? You will perish, you who run to fortune; you who appear with a haggard look and affect the patriot, that the enemy may purchase you, or the government give you a

place; you of the faction of the lenient, who wish to save criminals; you of the faction of foreigners, who turn your severity against the defenders of the people! Measures are already taken to secure the guilty; they are surrounded. Thanks to the genius of the French people, that liberty hath escaped from one of the greatest crimes that ever was meditated against her! The development of this vast plot, the terror which it will diffuse, and the measures which will be proposed to you, will disencumber the republic and the earth of all the conspirators."

Saint-Just obtained for the government the most extensive powers against the conspirators of the commune; he procured a decree, that *justice* and *probity* were the order of the day. The anarchists knew not what measures of defence to take; at one moment they veiled the *rights of man* in the club of the cordeliers, and they attempted to commence an insurrection, but without vigour and without concert. People did not move, and the committee caused the deputy Hébert, the revolutionary general Ronsin, Anacharsis Clootz the orator of the human race, Monmoro, Vincent, &c. to be seized by its commandant

Henriot. They were conducted before the revolutionary tribunal, as agents of a foreign power, and as having conspired to give a tyrant to the state. This tyrant was to have been Pache, under the name of the Grand Judge. As soon as the anarchist chiefs were taken, their boldness forsook them; most of them defended themselves, and died without courage. The committee of public safety disbanded the revolutionary army, diminished the privileges of the committees of the sections, and compelled the commune to come to the convention, to thank them for the arrest and punishment of the conspirators, their accomplices.

It was time for Danton to defend himself: the proscription, after having reached the commune, approached him. He was recommended to be upon his guard, and to act; but having failed in destroying the dictatorial power, by exciting public opinion and the assembly, by means of the journalists and his friends of the Mountain, upon what could he rely? The convention inclined favourably towards him and his cause, but it was a slave to the revolutionary power of the committees. Danton, having neither the government, nor

the assembly, nor the commune, nor the clubs, waited for his banishment without taking a step to avert it. His friends implored him to defend himself. "I would rather," replied he, "be guillotined than guillotine; besides, my life is not worth the trouble, and I am weary of humanity. The members of the committee seek my death. Well," (with warmth) "if ever . . . . if Billaud . . . . if Robespierre . . . . they will be execrated as tyrants; the house of Robespierre will be rased; there salt will be sown, and upon the same spot a gibbet, dedicated to the punishment of crime, will be planted! But my friends will say of me, that I have been a good father, a good friend, a good citizen; they will not forget me."—"Thou mayest avoid"—"I would rather be guillotined than guillotine."—"But in that case you must escape."—Then turning towards them, and raising his lip with disdain and anger, "Escape! . . . Can a man carry away his country at the sole of his shoe?"

One resource alone remained to Danton, and that was to try his voice, so well known and so powerful, to denounce Robespierre and the committees, and to rouse the convention against their tyranny. He was warmly pres-

sed by it, but he knew too well how difficult it is to overturn an established domination; he knew too well the subserviency and terror of the assembly, to rely upon the efficacy of such a means. He waited then, he who had dared so much, in full confidence that his enemies would recoil before the proscription of such a man. On the 30th March [10th germinal] they came to announce to him that his arrest was a subject of debate in the committee of public safety, and they pressed him once more to fly. After considering for a moment, he replied, *They dare not!* That night his house was surrounded, and he was conducted to the Luxembourg with Camille-Desmoulins, Philipeaux, Lacroix, and Westermann: on his entrance, he cordially addressed the prisoners, who thronged about him. "Gentlemen," said he, "I did hope in a little time to have freed you from this place, but you see me here myself with you, and I don't know now how it may end." One hour afterwards he was put *au secret*, and shut up in that prison which Hébert had inhabited, and which Robespierre was destined very soon to occupy. There, delivering himself up to his reflections and to his regret, he re-

marked, "At a similar period I was the means of instituting the revolutionary tribunal: I beg pardon of God and man; but it was not instituted that it might be the scourge of humanity."

His arrest produced a gloomy inquietude, a general murmur. The next day, at the opening of the assembly, they spoke in a low tone of voice, they inquired with alarm what was the pretext for this new piece of state policy against the representatives of the people. "Citizens!" said Legendre, "four members of this assembly were arrested last night; I know that Danton is one of them; I am ignorant of the names of the others. But, citizens, I declare it, I believe Danton to be as pure as myself, and yet he is in irons. They fear, no doubt, lest his answers should destroy the accusations brought against him; I demand, therefore, that before you receive any report, the detained persons be sent for and heard." This motion was received favourably, and gave one moment's courage to the assembly; some members required that it should be put to the vote, but this good inclination lasted but a little while. Robespierre appeared in the tribune. "By the distur-

bance, for a long time unknown, which reigns in this assembly," said he; "by the agitation produced by the words of him you have just heard, it is easy to perceive that the subject of debate is of great interest; that the question now is, if a few individuals shall this day prevail against their country. We shall this day see if the convention be able to break in pieces a pretended idol, which has been for a long time rotten, or if on its fall it will crush the convention and the people of France." A few words only from him were sufficient to restore silence and subordination in the assembly, to restrain the friends of Danton, and to make Legendre himself retract. Immediately afterwards Saint-Just entered the hall, followed by the other members of the committee. He read a long report against the arrested members, in which he accused their opinions, their political conduct, their private life, and their projects; making them, by improbable but subtle conclusions, the accomplices of all conspiracies, and the agents of all parties. The assembly, after having listened to it without a murmur, and with an approving stupor, decreed unanimously and even with applause, the accusation of Danton

and his friends. Every one sought to gain time with tyranny, and delivered up to it the heads of others to save his own.

The accused were transferred before the revolutionary tribunal: they appeared there with a brave and proud air: they displayed a boldness of expression and a contempt for their judges which were by no means common. Danton replied to the president Dumas, who interrogated him in the usual manner, as to his name, his age, and abode: "I am Danton, well enough known in the revolution; I am thirty-five years of age; my abode will soon be nothing, and my name will live in the temple of history." His disdainful and violent answers, the cold and measured discussion of Lacroix, the austerity of Philipeaux, the enthusiasm of Desmoulins, began to excite the people. But the accused were soon silenced, under pretence that they failed in respect to justice, and they were immediately condemned, without further hearing. "We are sacrificed," exclaimed Danton, "to the ambition of a few cowardly brigands; but they will not long enjoy the fruit of their criminal victory. I drag Robespierre . . . Ro-

bespierre follows me." They were conducted to the Conciergerie, and thence to the scaffold.

They went to their punishment with the confidence which was common at this period. Many troops were called out, and their escort was very numerous. The crowd, generally noisy and approving, was silent. Camille-Desmoulins, upon the fatal cart, was still astonished at his condemnation, and could not comprehend it: "This," said he, "is the reward destined to the first apostle of liberty." Danton carried his head high, and cast a calm and proud look around him. At the foot of the scaffold he melted for a moment: "O my well beloved!" cried he, "O my wife! then I shall never see thee more!" But, instantly checking himself,—"Danton, no weakness!" Thus perished the tardy, but last defenders of humanity, of moderation; the last who wished for peace between the conquerors of the revolution, and mercy to the vanquished. After them, no voice was heard for some time against the dictatorship of terror; it struck its reiterated and silent blows from one end of France to the other. The Girondists had

wished to prevent this violent reign, the Dantonists wished to stop it: all perished; and the rulers, the more enemies they counted, the more victims they had to dispatch. Men do not stop in such a sanguinary career until they themselves perish. The decemvirs, after the decisive fall of the Girondists, had made *terror* the order of the day; after that of the Hébertists, *justice* and *probity*, because the latter were of a licentious faction; after the fall of the Dantonists, *terror* and all the *virtues*, because they called them *the indulgents* and *the immoral*.

CHAPTER IX.

Increase of terror; its cause.—System of the democrats; Saint-Just.—Power of Robespierre.—Festival of the Supreme Being.—Couthon presents the law of 22nd prairial, which re-organizes the revolutionary tribunal; troubles, debates, and obedience of the convention.—The active members of the committees separate; on one side are Robespierre, Saint-Just, and Couthon; on the other, Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, Barrère, and the members of the committee of general safety.—Projects of Robespierre; he absents himself from the committees, and relies upon the Jacobins and the commune.—The 27th July [8th thermidor] he demands the renewal of the committees; he does not succeed.—Session of 28th July [9th thermidor]; Saint-Just denounces the committees; he is interrupted by Talien: Billaud-Varennes attacks Robespierre: violent complaints of the convention against the triumvirs; they are put under arrest.—The commune rises and delivers the prisoners.—Danger and courage of the convention; it outlaws the insurgents.—The sections declare for it.—Defeat and punishment of Robespierre and the insurgents.

DURING the four months which succeeded the fall of Danton's party, the committees exercised their power without opposition, and without restraint. Death became the sole means of government, and the republic was abandoned to daily and systematic executions. It was then that they invented the con-

spiracies of the prisons, filled by the *law of the suspected,* and which they emptied by that of 11th June, [22nd prairial] which may be called the *law of the condemned:* it was then that the instruments of the committee of public safety entirely replaced in the departments those of the Mountain; and it was then that men saw Carrier, the *protégé* of Billaud, in the west; in the south, Maignet, the *protégé* of Couthon; in the north, Joseph Lebon, the *protégé* of Robespierre. The wholesale extermination which had been practised against the enemies of the democratic dictatorship at Lyons and at Toulon, by the mitrailades,* became still more horrible by the drownings of Nantes, by the guillotines of Arras, of Paris, and of Orange.

May this example teach a truth, which, for the welfare of man, ought to be common: it is that, in a revolution, every thing depends upon a first refusal and a first struggle: that an innovation may be peaceful, it is necessary that it should not be contested; otherwise, war is declared, and the revolution is extended; because the whole population is ex-

* The firing of cannon, loaded with cannon shot, upon a number of individuals tied together.

cited in order to defend it. When society is thus shaken to its foundations, they who are most daring triumph, and, instead of wise and moderate reformers, it has no other than extreme and inflexible ones. Sprung from contention, they wish to support themselves by it: with one hand they fight to defend their domination, with the other they lay the foundation of their system: they kill in the name of their principles: virtue, humanity, the welfare of the people, all that is most sacred upon earth, they employ to sanction their executions, to protect their dictatorship, until they are worn out and fall. Both the enemies and the partisans of the reformation perish without distinction; the tempest impels and shatters the whole nation against the revolution. If we enquire what has become, in 1794, of the men of 1789, we shall find them all equally cast away in this great shipwreck. As soon as one party appeared upon the field of battle, all the others followed, and all the others like it were, by turns, vanquished and exterminated: both the constitutionalists, and the Girondists, and the mountainists, and even the decemvirs themselves. At each effusion of blood, the system of tyranny became more

violent. The decemvirs were the most inexorable, because they were the last.

The committee of public safety, exposed to the attacks of Europe, and to the hatred of so many defeated parties, imagined that the relaxation of violence would occasion its destruction; it wished at the same time to repress its enemies, and to get rid of them. "There are none but the dead who do not return," said Barrère. "The more the social body perspires," said Collot d'Herbois, "the healthier it becomes." But the decemvirs, not supposing their power was transient, aspired to found a democracy; and, in establishing institutions, sought a guarantee for that time when they should renounce punishments. They possessed in the highest degree the fanaticism which distinguished certain social theories, as the Fifth-monarchy-men of the English revolution (to whom they may be compared) possessed that of certain religious ideas. Those proceeded from the people, as the others from God; the first desired the most absolute political equality, as the others evangelical equality; the first aspired to the reign of virtue, as the other to the reign of the saints. In all affairs, human nature runs into extremes, and pro-

duces, in a religious age, christian democrats; in a philosophic age, political democrats.

Robespierre and Saint-Just were the authors of the plan of this democracy, the principles of which they professed in all their discourses; they wished to change the manners, the habits, and the spirit of France; they wished to establish a republic in the manner of the ancients. The government of the people, magistrates without pride, citizens without vice, fraternity of relations, the worship of virtue, simplicity, austerity of character; these were what they pretended to establish. The sacramental words of this sect will be found in all the discourses of the reporters of the committee, especially of those of Saint-Just and Robespierre. *Liberty* and *equality* for the government of the republic, *indivisibility* for its form, *public safety* for its defence and preservation, *virtue* for its principle, and the *Supreme Being* for its worship: as to the citizens, *fraternity* in their mutual relations, *probity* for their conduct, *good sense* for their mind, and *modesty* for their public actions, which ought to tend to the good of the state and not to the benefit of themselves: such were the symbols of this democracy. Fana-

ticism cannot go any further. The authors of this system never examined if it were practicable; they thought it just and natural, and, having the power in their hands, they wished to establish it by force. Not one of these words but has been used for the condemnation of a party or an individual. The royalists and aristocrats were pursued in the name of liberty and equality; the Girondists, in the name of indivisibility; Philipeaux, Camille-Desmoulins, and the moderates, in the name of public safety; Chaumette, Anacharsis Clootz, Gobel, Hébert, all the anarchist and atheist party, in the name of virtue and the Supreme Being; Chabot, Bazire, Fabre d'Eglantine, in the name of probity; Danton, in the name of virtue and modesty. These moral crimes, in the eyes of the fanatics, contributed to their distinction as much as the conspiracies with which they reproached them.

Robespierre was the patron of this sect, which had in the committee a more fanatic and disinterested zealot than him; it was Saint-Just, who was called the *Apocalyptic*. His features were regular, but on a large scale, with a forcible and melancholy expression; his eye was penetrating and steady, his hair

long, straight, and black; his manners were cold, although his soul was ardent: simple in his habits, austere, sententious, he proceeded unhesitatingly to the accomplishment of his system. Scarcely twenty-five years of age, he was the boldest of the decemvirs, because he was the most convinced of them. Passionately attached to the republic, he was indefatigable in the committees, intrepid in his missions to the armies, where he gave an example of courage, and shared the fatigues and dangers of the soldiers. His predilection for the multitude did not lead him to flatter its inclinations; and far from assuming its costume and its language, like Hèbert, he wished to invest it with ease, seriousness, and dignity. But his policy rendered him still more formidable than his popular faith. He possessed audacity, presence of mind, tact, and firmness. Little susceptible of pity, he reduced his measures of public safety into proper forms, and afterwards put these forms in execution. If victory, banishment, dictatorship, appeared necessary to him, he immediately demanded them. Distinguished from Robespierre, he was a real man of action. Robespierre, perceiving all the advantage

which might be derived from him, had attached himself to him at an early period of the convention: Saint-Just, on his side, had been attracted towards Robespierre by his reputation for incorruptibility, by his austere life, and by the conformity of their ideas. It is obvious how terrible this association must be, on account of the popularity, the envious and imperious passions of the one, and the inflexible character and systematic views of the other. Couthon, who was personally devoted to Robespierre, joined them. Although he had a mild countenance, and a half paralyzed body, he was a pityless fanatic. They formed, even in the committee, a triumvirate anxious to secure the whole power to itself. This ambition alienated from them the other members of the committee, and finally destroyed them. The triumvirate governed absolutely the convention, and even the committee. When it was necessary to intimidate the committee, Saint-Just was intrusted with the report; when they wished to surprise it, Couthon was employed: if there was any murmur or hesitation, Robespierre shewed himself, and with a single word made them sink again into silence and apprehension.

For the two first months after the fall of the commune and of the party of Danton, the decemvirs, who were not yet divided among themselves, laboured to strengthen their power. Their commissioners kept the departments in subjection, and the armies of the republic were every where victorious upon the frontiers. The committees availed themselves of this moment of security and union to lay the foundation of new manners and new institutions. It is never to be forgotten, that in a revolution men are excited by two inclinations, love of their own ideas and a thirst for rule. The members of the committee, in the beginning, were agreed in their democratic ideas; in the end, they fought for power.

Billaud-Varennes presented the theory of the popular government and the means of keeping the army in subjection to the nation. Robespierre pronounced a discourse upon moral ideas and the solemnities becoming a republic; he caused the decadery festivals to be dedicated to the Supreme Being, to truth, to justice, to modesty, to friendship, to frugality, to good faith, to glory and immortality, to misfortune, &c. in short, to all the moral and republican virtues. In this manner he pre-

pared for the establishment of the new worship of the Supreme Being. Barrère made a report on the extirpation of mendicity, and upon the relief which the republic ought to afford to indigent citizens. All these reports were transformed into decrees, according to the view of the democrats. Barrère, whose customary discourses to the convention were calculated to disguise from it its slavery, was one of the most supple instruments of the committee; he adhered to the government of terror neither through fanaticism nor cruelty. His manners were mild, his private life irreproachable, and his spirit distinguished by great moderation: but he was timid; and after having been a constitutional royalist before the 10th August, a moderate republican before the 31st May, he was become the panegyrist and partner of the decemviral tyranny. From this we may observe, that if a man is deficient in vigour and strength of character, he ought not to take an active part in a revolution. The mind alone is not sufficiently inflexible; indeed it is too accommodating; it finds out reasons for everything, even for that which disgusts or terrifies it; it never knows when to stop in times

when it should always be ready for death, and to finish its last act at that point where its opinions terminate.

Robespierre, who was considered the founder of this moral democracy, then arrived at the highest degree of elevation and power. He became the general object of the flattery of his party; he was the *great man* of the republic; nothing was spoken of but his virtue, his genius, his eloquence. Two circumstances contributed still more to increase his importance. On the 23rd May [3rd prarial] an obscure, but intrepid individual, named Admiral, resolved to deliver France from Robespierre and Collot d'Herbois. He waited for Robespierre the whole day, but fruitlessly, and in the evening he determined upon attempting to take the life of Collot. He fired at him twice with pistols, but missed him. The next day, a young girl, named Cecily Renault, presented herself at Robespierre's door, and entreated to speak with him. As he was gone out, and she still insisted upon admission, they arrested her. She had a small bundle, and two knives were found upon her. "What motive," said they, "has brought you to Robespierre's?"—

"I wanted to speak to him."—"On what business?"—"That would depend upon how I had found him."—"Do you know the citizen Robespierre?"—"No; I only endeavoured to know him, and I have been at his house to see how a tyrant was made."—"What use did you propose to make of your two knives?"—"None; having no intention to harm any one."—"And your bundle?"—"It contains linen for change in the place to which I am to be conducted."—"Where?"—"In prison, and thence to the guillotine." The unfortunate girl was conducted there, and even her family was involved in her ruin.

Robespierre received marks of the most intoxicating adulation. At the Jacobins and in the convention his safety was attributed to the good genius of the republic, and to the Supreme Being whose existence he had on the 8th May [18th floréal] caused to be decreed. The celebration of the new worship throughout France had been fixed for the 9th June [20th prairial]. On the 5th June, Robespierre was unanimously voted president of the convention, that he might act as pontiff at the approaching festival. He appeared in the ceremony at the head of the

assembly, his face beaming with confidence and joy, an expression which was by no means common to him. He walked alone fifteen paces before his colleagues in a splendid costume, with flowers and spices in his hand, and was the object of general attention. Every one expected that something would happen on that day; the enemies of Robespierre, that there would be attempts at usurpation; the persecuted parties, that there would thenceforth be a milder government. He deceived the expectation of everybody; he harangued the people as a chief priest, and he concluded his discourse, in which they looked for indications of happier times, by these discouraging words:—"People! to-day let us give ourselves up to uncloyed pleasure! To-morrow we will again attack vice and tyranny!"

Two days afterwards, the 11th June [22nd prairial], Couthon brought a new law before the convention. The revolutionary tribunal aimed its vengeance with great docility at all those who had been pointed out to it: royalists, constitutionalists, anarchists, members of the Gironde and of the Mountain, had been equally devoted to death. But he did not

proceed quick enough to satisfy the systematic exterminators, who desired, at whatever price, promptly to get rid of their prisoners. Some forms were still observed—those they suppressed. "All dilatoriness," said Couthon, "is a crime; every indulgent formality is a public danger: the delay to be allowed for in the punishment of the enemies of their country ought to be the time of their discovery only." The accused had been allowed counsel to defend them; they were allowed them no more. *To calumniated patriots, the law assigns sworn patriots to defend them; it allows none to conspirators.* They had been tried individually; they were now tried in heaps. Some discrimination had been exercised even in revolutionary crimes; they now declared *all the enemies of the people guilty,* and *all those who endeavoured to annihilate liberty, either by force or fraud,* the enemies of the people The divisions of the juries had been regulated by the law; now they had no other rule than their own conscience. A single tribunal, Fouquier Thinville, and some jurymen, were insufficient for the increase of victims which the new law portended. The tribunal was distributed into four sections,

the numbers of judges and jurymen were augmented, and four substitutes were assigned to the public accuser as auxiliaries. Finally, the deputies of the people could not be brought to trial except by the decree of the convention; the law was framed in such a manner, that they might now be so by the sole order of the committee. The *law of the suspected* caused that of *prairial*.

As soon as Couthon had made his report, a murmur of fear and astonishment ran through the assembly. "If this law passes," cried Ruamps, "we shall have nothing to do but to blow out our brains. I move an adjournment." The adjournment was supported, but Robespierre mounted the tribune: "For a long time," said he, "the national convention has discussed and decreed upon the spot, because for a long time it has not been subjected to the empire of faction. I move, that without waiting for the question of adjournment, the convention continue its discussions until eight o'clock at night, if necessary, on the law which is submitted to it." Immediately the debate commenced, and in thirty minutes after, a second reading of the decree was adopted. But the next

day. Some members, still more frightened at the law than at the committee, returned to the discussion of the preceding evening. The Mountainists, friends of Danton, fearing that the new regulation which left the representatives at the mercy of the decemvirs, proposed to the convention to provide for the safety of its members. Bourdon de l'Oise was the first who, with this view, took up the subject; he was supported. Merlin, by a dexterous preamble, re-established the ancient safeguard of the conventionalists, and the assembly adopted the preamble of Merlin. By degrees, objections were made to the decree, the courage of the Mountain increased, and the discussion became very warm. Couthon attacked the Mountain. "Let them know," cried Bourdon de l'Oise to him, "let the members of the committee know, that if they are patriots, we are equally so! Let them know, that I will not answer with bitterness the reproaches which they have cast upon me? I esteem Couthon, I esteem the committee, but I also esteem the unshaken Mountain, who have rescued liberty!" Robespierre, surprised at this unusual resistance, next rushed to the tribune;

"The convention," said he, "the Mountain, the committee, are the same thing! Every representative of the people, who sincerely loves liberty; every representative of the people, who is determined to die for his country, is the Mountain! It would be an outrage to the country, it would be to assassinate the people, to suffer a few intriguers, more contemptible than the rest because they are more hypocritical, to attempt to carry away a portion of this Mountain, and to make themselves the chiefs of a party!"—"It never," said Bourdon, "entered into my mind to make myself the chief of a party."—"It would," continued Robespierre, "be the excess of disgrace, that a few of our colleagues, misled by calumny as to our intentions . . ."—"I demand that he proves what he says," replied Bourdon; "it has been just said, explicitly enough, that I am a villain."—"I have not named Bourdon. Woe to him who names himself! Yes, the Mountain is pure, it is noble, and the intriguers are not of the Mountain."—"Name them."—"I will name them whenit is needful." The menaces, the imperious tone of Robespierre, the support of the other decemvirs, the fear which spread from one

to another, produced complete silence. The preamble of Merlin was revoked as injurious to the committee of public safety, and the law passed entire. From this time the cramming of the prisons [fournées] took place, and every day fifty of the condemned were put to death. This terror within terror lasted about two months.

But the end of this system approached. The session of prairial was the last period of the union of the members of the committee. For some time secret dissensions had existed amongst them. They had acted in concert so long as they had to combat together, but they ceased to do so the moment they found themselves alone in the arena, with the habit of conflict and the want of domination. Besides, their opinions were not entirely the same; the democratic party was divided by the fall of the old commune; Billaud-Varennes, Collotd-'Herbois, and the principal members of the committee of general safety, Vadier, Amar, Vouland, adhered to this discomfited faction, and preferred the worship of reason to that of the Supreme Being. They shewed themselves also jealous of the fame, and disturbed at the power of Robes-

pierre, who, on his side, was irritated at their secret disapprobation, and at the obstacles which they opposed to his wishes. The latter at this period conceived the design of putting down the most enterprising members of the Mountain,—Talien, Bourdon, Legendre, Fréron, Rovère, &c., and his rivals in the committee.

Robespierre had a prodigious force at his disposal: the lowest order, who saw the revolution in his person, supported him as the representative of its doctrines and its interests; the armed force of Paris commanded by Henriot, was at his beck. He ruled at the Jacobins, into which he admitted or expelled members at pleasure; all important places were filled with his creatures; he had himself formed the revolutionary tribunal and the new commune, by substituting the national agent Payan for the procureur-general Chaumette, and the mayor Fleuriot for Pache. But what was his intention in granting the most influential situations to new men, and in separating himself from the committee? Did he aspire to the dictatorship? Did he wish that he alone should arrive at his democracy of *virtue* by the ruin of the remains of the *immo-*

ral members of the Mountain and the *factious* members of the committee? His conduct may be equally well explained by the desire of usurpation or by popular fanaticism: in putting down the most elevated of the republic, he appears to have practised the advice which the elder Tarquin gave to his son. Each party had lost its chiefs: the Gironde, the *twenty-two;* the commune, Hébert, Chaumette, and Ronsin; the Mountain, Danton, Chabot, Lacroix, and Camille-Desmoulins. But Robespierre had always, in proscribing the chiefs, protected the multitude. He had defended the *sixty-three,* who were in confinement, against the denunciations of the Jacobins and the hatred of the committee; he had no opposition to apprehend to his projects, except from a small number of the Mountain, and the conventional government. Against this double obstacle he directed his efforts in the last moments of his career. It is probable that he did not separate the republic from his protectorate, and that he conceived he should lay the foundation of them both upon the ruin of the other parties.

The committees attacked Robespierre in their own way. They laboured secretly at

his ruin, and whispered about accusations of tyranny against him; they induced the people to look upon the establishment of his form of worship as the forerunner of his usurpation; they recalled his proud bearing in that day of intoxication the 9th June [20th prairial], the distance at which he placed himself from the national convention itself. Amongst themselves they called him *Pisistratus*, and this name had already become familiar. A circumstance, which would have been insignificant at another time, afforded them the opportunity of attacking him in an indirect manner: an old woman, named Catherine Théot, played the prophetess in an obscure corner, surrounded by a few mystical sectaries: she was called the Mother of God, and she announced the approaching advent of a redeeming Messiah. With her was associated a former colleague of Robespierre in the constituent assembly, the carthusian friar Dom Gerle, who had a certificate of citizenship from Robespierre himself. The committees, in discovering the mysteries of the Mother of God and her predictions, pretended to believe that Robespierre availed himself of this means to gain the fanatics, and to get his elevation de-

clared. They changed her name of Théot to that of Theos, which signifies God; and in the Messiah whom she announced, they dexterously pointed out Robespierre. The elder Vadier was intrusted, in the name of the committee of public safety, with the report against the new sect. He was vain and artful; he denounced those who had been initiated in the mysteries, turned their rites into ridicule, mixed up Robespierre with them, without naming him, and caused the fanatics to be sent to prison. Robespierre wished to save them. The conduct of the committee of general safety deeply irritated him, and in the club of the Jacobins he spoke of the harangues of Vadier with anger and contempt. He experienced fresh difficulties in the committee of public safety, who refused to prosecute those whom Robespierre proscribed. From that time he no longer appeared amongst his colleagues in the government, and but rarely assisted in the session of the convention; but he went regularly to the Jacobins, and it was from the tribune of this club that he conceived he should ruin his enemies, as he had hitherto done.

Naturally sad, suspicious, and fearful, he

became more gloomy and more distrustful. He never went out without being accompanied by a troop of Jacobins, armed with bludgeons, who were called his body-guard. He soon commenced his denunciations in the popular society: "We must," said he "drive out of the convention all these corrupt men," meaning the friends of Danton. Robespierre had them watched with the most minute anxiety. Every day the spies attached to their steps followed all their movements, and apprised him of their proceedings, of their meetings, and of their expressions. Robespierre not only attacked the Dantonists at the Jacobins, he impeached the committee itself, and for that purpose he selected a day when Barrère presided at that society. After the session, the latter returned discouraged to his house. "I am sick of men," said he to the juryman Villate.—"What," said the latter, "can have been his reason for attacking you?" —"This Robespierre is insatiable," returned Barrère; "because we do not do all that he wishes, he must needs break with us. If he speaks to us of Thuriot, Guffroi, Rovère, Lecointre, Panis, Cambon, Monestier, and the Dantonist remnant, we should under-

stand each other; let him demand Talien, Bourdon de l'Oise, Legendre, Fréron, all in good time . . . but Duval, but Audoin, but Léonard Bourdon, Vadier, Vouland, it is impossible to consent to it." To give up the members of the committee of general safety, was to strike the first blow at themselves. They therefore remained firm, but waited for the attack, and dreaded it. Robespierre was very formidable. Both on account of his power, and of his rancour and his schemes, he was expected to begin the conflict.

But how was he to set about it? He found himself for the first time, the author of a conspiracy: hitherto he had profited by all the popular movements, but had directed none. Danton, the cordeliers, and the faubourgs, had brought about the affair of the 10th August against the throne; Marat, the Mountain, and the commune, that of the 31st May against the Gironde; Billaud, Saint-Just, and the committees had effected the ruin of the commune, and had diminished the power of the Mountain. Robespierre now remained alone, and it was necessary that he should himself perfect the work of his domination, the materials of which had been thrown to-

gether by others. Not being able to avail himself of the assistance of the government since he had declared against the committees, he resorted to the populace and to the Jacobins. The principal conspirators were Saint-Just and Couthon of the committee; the mayor Fleuriot, and the national agent Payan, in the commune; the president Dumas, and the vice-president Coffinhal, in the revolutionary tribunal; Henriot the commandant of the troops; and the Popular Society. On the 4th July [15th messidor] three weeks after the law of prairial, and twenty-four days before the 28th July [9th thermidor] they had already taken their resolution. At this period Henriot wrote to the mayor under the above date: "Comrade, thou wilt be satisfied with me and the manner in which I shall conduct myself: go to, men who love their country easily understand how to turn every step to the benefit of the commonwealth. I could have wished, and I do wish, the *secret of the operation* was confined to our two selves. Scoundrels should know nothing of it. Safety and Fraternity!"

Saint-Just being on a mission to the army in the north, Robespierre recalled him in

great haste. Whilst waiting for his return, he prepared the minds of the Jacobins. In the session of the 22nd July [3rd thermidor] he complained of the conduct of the committees, and the persecutions of the patriots whom he swore to defend. "No trace must remain," said he, "of faction or of crime in any place whatever. A few wretches dishonour the convention, but doubtless it will not suffer itself to be oppressed by them." He afterwards persuaded his colleagues, the Jacobins, to present *their reflections* to the national assembly; this was the plan of the 31st May. On the 31st July [4th thermidor] he received a deputation from the department of Aisne, which came to him to complain of the operations of government, to which he had been a stranger upwards of a month. "The convention," replied Robespierre, "in its present situation, gangrened as it is by corruption from which it cannot purify itself, has no longer the power to save the republic: both will perish. The proscription of the patriots is the order of the day. For myself, I have already one foot in the grave; in a few days I shall have the other there. The rest is in the hands of providence." He was a little

unwell at this time, and he designedly exaggerated his own discouragement and fears, and the dangers of the republic, in order to inflame the patriots, and connect the destiny of the revolution with his own.

In the meanwhile Saint-Just arrived from the army. He was apprised by Robespierre of the state of affairs. He presented himself to the committees, the members of which received him coldly; every time he entered, they ceased to deliberate. Saint-Just, who from their silence, from a few words which had escaped, from their embarrassment, or from the hostility of their countenances, perceived that no time was to be lost, urged Robespierre to act. His maxim was to strike quietly and strongly. *Dare!* said he, *that's the secret of revolutions.* But he wished to induce Robespierre to take a measure which was impracticable, in persuading him to extinguish his enemies without giving them warning. The force which was at his disposal was a revolutionary one, governed by opinion, and not an organized force. He required the assistance of the convention or of the commune, of the legal authority of the government, or the extraordinary authority of the insurrection.

Such had been the practice, and such should have been the line of policy. Insurrection even could not be resorted to until after the refusal of the assembly; otherwise, the pretext for a rising would be wanting. Robespierre was at last obliged to begin the attack, first in the convention itself. He hoped through his ascendancy to obtain what he wished; or if, contrary to its practice, it resisted, he calculated that the people, provoked by the commune, would rise on the 28th July [9th thermidor] against the proscribed members of the Mountain and the committee of general safety, as it had risen on the 31st May against the proscribed Girondists and the commission of twelve. Thus we always regulate our conduct and our hopes upon the past.

On the 27th July [8th thermidor] he went early to the convention: he mounted the tribune, and denounced the committees in a very dexterous harangue: "I am come to defend before you, your outraged authority and violated liberty. I will also defend myself; you will not be surprised at it; you bear no resemblance to the tyrants whom you oppose. The cries of injured innocence do not ring in your ears, and you know that this cause is no

stranger to you." After this exordium, he complains of his calumniators; he attacks those who wish to destroy the republic by excess, or by moderation; those who persecute peaceful citizens, meaning the committees, and those who persecute true patriots, meaning the Mountainists. He associates himself with the plans, with the past conduct, and the spirit of the convention. He adds that its enemies are his. "Why am I persecuted? because the persecution of me forms a part of the general system of their conspiracy against the national convention. Have you not observed that, in order to separate you from the nation, they have published that you were dictators, reigning by terror, and disavowed and disclaimed by the tacit wish of Frenchmen? For myself, what is the faction to which I belong? It is yourselves. What is the faction which, since the commencement of the revolution, has levelled so many factions and disposed of so many traitors, who had found the means of ingratiating themselves? It is you; it is the people; it is our principles. This is the faction to which I am devoted, and against which all crimes are in league. Six weeks at least have passed,

during which the inability of doing good and arresting evil has absolutely forced me to abandon my duties as a member of the committee of public safety. Has patriotism been better protected? faction less audacious? the country more happy? My influence has at all times been limited to pleading the cause of the country before the representatives of the nation, and at the tribunal of public reason." Having endeavoured to mix up his cause with that of the convention, he excites it against the committees, by the idea of its independence: "Representatives of the people! it is time to resume that pride and loftiness of character which becomes you. You are not made to be governed by, but to govern the depositories of your confidence."

At the same time that he attempts to gain the assembly, by exhibiting thete rmination of its servitude and the restitution of its power, he addresses himself to the moderate members, reminding them that it is to him they owe the safety of the *sixty-three*, and in leading them to expect the return of order, of justice, and of clemency. He speaks of changing the wasteful and intricate system of finances, of softening the revolutionary

government, of guiding its motions, and punishing its treacherous agents. Finally, he invokes the people, he speaks of its wants and of its power; and, after having called up every thing which could operate upon the convention, both interest, and hope, and fear, "Let us declare then," added he, "that there exists a conspiracy against public liberty; that it owes its power to a criminal combination which intrigues in the very heart of the convention; that this combination has accomplices in the committee of general safety; that the enemies of the republic have placed this committee in opposition to the committee of public safety, and thus constituted two governments; that some of the members of the committee of public safety have entered into the plot; that the coalition, thus formed, seeks to destroy both patriots and country. What is the remedy for this evil? To punish the traitors, to reform the committee of general safety, to purify this committee, and subject it to the committee of public safety; to purify the committee of public safety itself; to establish unity of government under the supreme authority of the convention; thus, to crush all factions with

the weight of the national authority, and to raise upon their ruins the power of justice and liberty."

Not a murmur, not a whisper of applause, succeeded this declaration of war. The silence with which Robespierre had been listened to was prolonged for a considerable time after he had done. From all parts of the undecided assembly they looked at each other with disquietude. At last, Lecointre de Versailles took up the subject, and proposed the printing of the discourse. This motion was the signal of agitation, of debate, and resistance. Bourdon de l'Oise opposed the printing as dangerous, and was applauded; but Barrère having, according to his equivocal practice, maintained that all discourses ought to be published; and Couthon having required that it should be sent to all the communes of the republic; the convention, intimidated by the apparent concert between the two opposite factions, decreed that it should be printed and circulated.

The members of the two committees who had been attacked, and who had hitherto remained silent, perceiving the Mountain repulsed and the majority wavering, felt that it

was high time to speak. Vadier was the first who opposed the discourse of Robespierre, and Robespierre himself. Cambon went further: "It is time to speak the whole truth," cried he; "a single individual has paralysed the will of the national convention; this individual is Robespierre."—"The mask must be taken off," added Billaud-Varennes, "upon whatever face it is found; I would rather that my body should serve as a throne for an ambitious man than by my silence become the accomplice of his crimes." Panis, Bentabole, Charlier, Thirion, and Amar, attacked him by turns. Fréron proposed to the convention to break the fatal yoke of the committees: "The moment is come," said he, "to re-establish freedom of opinion. I move that the assembly take into consideration the decree which grants to the committee the right of arresting the representatives of the people. Where is the man who can speak freely when he is in fear of being arrested?" Some marks of applause were heard, but the time of the entire emancipation of the convention was not yet arrived; it was behind the shield of the committees that it was necessary to carry on the conflict with Robespierre, that they

might thereby be able afterwards to overturn the committees. The motion of Fréron therefore was negatived. "He whom fear hinders from speaking his opinion," said Billaud-Varennes, looking at him, "is not worthy of the title of representative of the people." Their attention was again directed to Robespierre: the decree for printing the discourse was reported, and the convention referred the examination of it to the committees: Robespierre, who had been surprised at this spirited resistance, then said, "What! I have the courage to deposit in the bosom of the convention truths which I think necessary to the salvation of the country, and my discourse is referred to the examination of the members whom I accuse!" He left them a little discouraged, but still hoping to fix the assembly, which had shewn itself fluctuating, or else to subdue it by the conspirators of the Jacobins and the commune.

In the evening he repaired to the popular society; he was received with enthusiasm: he read the discourse which the assembly had condemned, and it was now heard with rapturous applause. He then gave them an account of the attacks which had been directed against

him, and the more to excite them, added, "I am ready, if necessary, to drink the cup of Socrates."—"Robespierre," cried a deputy, "I will drink it with thee."—"The enemies of Robespierre," added they on all sides, "are those of the country; let him name them, and they shall cease to live." During the whole of this night Robespierre prepared his partisans for the affair of the next day. It was agreed that they should assemble at the commune and at the Jacobins, that they might be ready for any event, whilst he should repair with his friends to the centre of the assembly.

The committees, on their side, were assembled, and had deliberated all the night. Saint-Just had appeared in the midst of them. His colleagues had attempted to detach him from the triumvirate; they directed him to make a report of the occurrences of the preceding evening, and to submit it to them. Instead of which, he prepared an act of accusation, which he would not communicate to them, and on leaving them he said, "*You* have seared my heart; I go to open it to the convention." The committees placed their whole hope in the courage of the assemblies,

and the union of parties. The Mountain had omitted nothing to bring about this salutary concert. They had applied to the most influential members of the right, and of the *marais*. They had implored Boissy d'Anglas and Durand-Maillane, who were at their head, to join them against Robespierre. They at first hesitated: they were so alarmed at the power of Robespierre, so full of resentment against the Mountain, that they sent back the Dantonists without listening to them. The Dantonists returned a third time to the charge, and then the right side and the *plain* engaged to support them. On both sides then there was a conspiracy; all the parties in the assembly were united against Robespierre: all the accomplices of the triumvirs were prepared against the convention. In this situation of affairs, the session of 27 July [9th thermidor] opened.

The members of the assembly repaired there sooner than usual. About half past eleven o'clock they were walking in the passage, encouraging each other. The mountainist Bourdon de l'Oise accosts the moderate Durand Maillane, squeezes his hand, and says to him, "O the brave men of the right!" Rovère and Talien join them and add

their congratulations to those of Bourdon. At noon they saw, from the door of the hall, Saint-Just ascend the tribune. *Now is the time,* said Talien, and they pass into the hall. Robespierre is seated in front of the tribune, for the purpose, doubtless, of intimidating his adversaries by his looks. Saint-Just begins: "I," said he, "am of no faction; I will oppose them all. The course of affairs has determined that this tribune may, perhaps, become the Tarpeian rock for him who shall mount it to tell you that the members of government have quitted the paths of wisdom!" Talien immediately interrupts Saint-Just with violence, and exclaims, "No good citizen can refrain from tears at the unfortunate situation to which the state is reduced. We see division on every side of us. Yesterday, a member of the government separated himself from it, to accuse it. To day, another does the same thing. They still wish to attack it, to increase the evils of the country, to hasten its destruction. I insist upon the curtain being completely withdrawn."—*It must! it must!* issued from all parts.

Billaud-Varennes then began to speak from his place. "Yesterday," said he, "the society of Jacobins was filled with men, who

were introduced insidiously, for they had no tickets; yesterday, the intention of massacring the national convention was developed in that society; yesterday, I saw men who uttered the most atrocious calumnies against those who have never deviated from the course of the revolution. I see among the Mountain one of those men who threatened the representatives of the people: this is he!" —"Let him be arrested! let him be arrested!" exclaimed they. The ushers seized and conducted him to the committee of general safety. "The moment for speaking the truth," pursued Billaud, "is arrived. Ill would the assembly judge of events, and of the position in which it is placed, if it conceals from itself that it is between two massacres. It will perish if it is weak."—"No, no, it shall not perish," replied all the members, rising. They swear to save the republic; the tribunes applaud and cry out, *Long live the national convention!* The impetuous Lebas demands the liberty of speaking in defence of the triumvirs; it is refused, and Billaud continues. He warns the convention of its dangers, attacks Robespierre, points out his accomplices, and denounces his conduct and his

schemes of dictatorship. All eyes are turned towards him. He supports them for a long time with firmness, but at last, no longer able to contain himself, he rushes to the tribune. Instantly the cry of *Down with the tyrant! down with the tyrant!* is heard, and prevents him from speaking.

"Just now," said Talien, "I insisted that the veil should be torn off. I perceive with pleasure that it is completely so; the conspirators are unmasked; they will soon be annihilated, and liberty will triumph! Yesterday I was present at the session of the Jacobins; I shuddered for my country, I saw the army of the new Cromwell mustering, and I armed myself with a poniard to plunge into his bosom, if the national convention had not the firmness to decree his accusation." He drew forth his poniard; waved it before the indignant convention, and demanded before everything the arrest of Henriot and the permanence of the assembly, both of which he obtained amidst cries of *Long live the republic!* Billaud also obtained a decree of arrest against three of the most daring accomplices of Robespierre—Dumas, Boulanger, and Dufrèse: Barrere placed the convention

under the protection of the armed sections, and proposed a proclamation to be addressed to the people. Every one proposed some measure of precaution. Vadier, for a moment, diverted the attention of the assembly from the dangers which threatened it, and again directed it to the affair of Catherine Théos. "Let us not lose sight of the real point of the question," said Talien.—"I shall know how to bring it back," said Robespierre. "Let us return to the tyrant," replied Talien; and he attacked him again, and still more warmly.

Robespierre had repeatedly attempted to speak, had ascended and descended the steps of the tribune, but his voice was always drowned by the cries of *Down with the tyrant!* and by the bell which the president Thuriot sounded without intermission. At length, in a moment of silence, he made a last effort. "For the last time," cried he, "wilt thou allow me to speak, president of assassins?" but Thuriot continued to sound his bell. Robespierre, after having turned his eyes towards the tribunes, who remained immoveable, directed himself to the right. "It is to you, pure and virtuous men," said he,

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"that I have recourse; grant me the liberty of speech, which these assassins refuse." No answer, and the most profound silence. Dispirited at this repulse, he then returned to his place, and sunk into his seat, exhausted with rage and fatigue. His mouth foamed and his voice grew thick. "Miserable man," said a Mountainist to him, "the blood of Danton stifles thee." They demand his arrest; it is supported on all sides. The younger Robespierre arose: "I am as guilty as my brother," said he, "I share his virtues, I wish to share his lot."—"I will not associate myself with the disgrace of this decree," added Lebas, "I also demand my arrest." The assembly unanimously decreed the arrest of the two Robespierres, of Couthon, Lebas, and Saint-Just. The latter, after having remained a long time in the tribune, in perfect self-possession, had descended to his place with calmness; he had supported this continued storm without appearing to be disturbed by it. The triumvirs were delivered to the gendarmerie, who took them away amidst general acclamations. Robespierre, as he went out said, "The republic is lost, the brigands triumph." It was

half past five o'clock; the session was suspended until seven.

During this strong conflict, the accomplices of the triumvirs were assembled at the commune and the Jacobins. The mayor Fleuriot, the national agent Payan, the commandant Henriot, had been at the Hotel-de-Ville since noon. They had called the municipal officers together by sound of drum, hoping that Robespierre would be the victor in the assembly, and that they would have no occasion either for the general council to decree the insurrection, or of the sections to support it. A few hours afterwards, an usher of the convention having come to command the mayor to appear at its bar, to give an account of the state of Paris: "Go and tell the miscreants," replied Henriot to him, "that we are deliberating here how to purge them; do not forget to tell Robespierre to be firm, and to fear nothing." About half past four o'clock they learnt the arrest of the triumvirs and the decree against their accomplices. Immediately the tocsin was sounded, the barriers closed, the general council convoked, the sections assembled. The cannoniers received orders to repair with their pieces to the com-

mune, and the revolutionary committees to attend them, for the purpose of taking the oath of insurrection. A message was sent to the Jacobins, who had declared themselves permanent. The municipal deputies were received with the greatest enthusiasm: "The society keeps watch for the country," said they to them, "it has sworn to perish rather than exist under the authority of crime." At the same time they laid down their plan of operations, and established rapid communications between the two centres of insurrection. Henriot, on his part, in order to excite the people to rise, ran through the streets with a pistol in his hand, at the head of his staff, crying to arms, haranguing the multitude, and urging all he met to repair to the commune to save their country. It was during this expedition that two members of the convention perceived him in the street, Saint-Honoré; they summoned, in the name of the law, some gendarmes to execute the decree of arrest; the latter obeyed, and Henriot was bound and conducted to the committee of general safety.

Nothing, however, was done on either side. Each party *availed itself* of the power it

possessed; the convention of its decrees, the commune of the insurrection; each party knew what would be the consequence of defeat, and it was that which rendered them both so active, so cautious, and so decided. The victory was for a long time doubtful: from noon to five o'clock the convention was uppermost; by its orders the triumvirs, the national agent Payan, and the commandant Henriot, were arrested. It was then sitting, and the commune had not yet reassembled its forces; but from six to eight o'clock the insurgents regained the advantage, and the cause of the convention appeared to be lost.

During this interval the national representatives had separated, and the efforts and the confidence of the commune were redoubled.

Robespierre had been transferred to the Luxembourg, his brother to Saint Lazare, Saint-Just to the Ecossais, Couthon to the Bourbe, and Lebas to the Conciergerie. The commune, after having commanded the jailers not to receive them, despatched the municipal authorities with detachments to bring them away. The first who was delivered was Robespierre; he was conducted in triumph to

the Hotel-de-Ville. On his arrival he was received with the greatest enthusiasm, and in the midst of cries of *Long live Robespierre! Perish the traitors!* A little before, Coffinhal had set out at the head of two hundred cannoniers to carry off Henriot, who was detained at the committee of general safety. It was then seven o'clock, and the convention had recommenced its sitting. Its guard was at the utmost a hundred men. Coffinhal arrives, rushes into the court, invades the committees, and delivers Henriot. The latter immediately repairs to the place du Carousel, harangues the cannoniers, and points their guns towards the convention.

The assembly was at that moment deliberating upon its dangers. It had just learned one after another the frightful success of the conspirators, the insurrectional orders of the commune, the rescue of the triumvirs, their presence at the Hotel-de-Ville, the fury of the Jacobins, and the successive assembling of the revolutionary committees and the sections. It was every moment expecting to be forced, when the dismayed members of the committee, appeared in the midst of it, flying from the pursuit of Coffinhal. They

stated that the committees were invested, and Henriot at liberty. At this intelligence the emotion became very great. An instant after, Amer hastily entered and announced that the cannoniers, seduced by Henriot, had turned their pieces upon the convention. "*Citizens!*" said the president, putting on his hat as a sign of distress, "*this is the moment for us to die at our post!*"—*Yes, yes, we will die at it!* was echoed by every member. Those who were in possession of the tribune descended, crying, *To arms! Let us go and drive back these miscreants!* and the assembly courageously outlawed Henriot.

Happily for it, Henriot could not persuade the cannoniers to fire. His power did not extend beyond hurrying them along with him, and he proceeded towards the Hotel-de-Ville. The refusal of the cannoniers fixed the fate of that day. From that instant the affairs of the commune, which had been at the very point of success, began to decline. Not having succeeded in a brisk surprise, it was reduced to the slow process of the insurrection; the point of attack was changed, and instead of the commune besieging the Tuileries, the convention very speedily marched

upon the Hotel-de-Ville. The assembly immediately outlawed the conspiring deputies and the insurgent commune. It sent commissaries to the sections to obtain their support; it named the representative Barras commander of the armed force, assigned Fréron, Rovère, Bourdon de l'Oise, Féraud, Leonard Bourdon, Legendre, all decided men, as his assistants; and made the committees the centre of operations.

The sections, at the invitation of the commune, had re-assembled about nine o'clock; most of the citizens in repairing thither were uneasy, being imperfectly and confusedly acquainted with the nature of the quarrel between the convention and the commune. The emissaries of the insurgents urged them to join the insurrection, and to march their battalions to the Hotel de Ville. The sections confined themselves to sending deputations to it; but as soon as the commissaries of the convention appeared amongst them, and communicated the decrees of the assembly, and its invitations to them, and apprised them that it had a chief and a rallying point, they no longer hesitated. Their battalions presented themselves in succession before

the assembly; they swore to defend it, and filed off in the hall in the midst of the most enthusiastic acclamations and the most sincere applause. "Time is precious," said Fréron, "we must act; Barras is gone to take the orders of the committees; we will march against the rebels. We will summon them in the name of the convention to deliver the traitors to us, and, if they refuse, we will reduce that building to ashes."—"Go immediately," replied the president, "lest day appear before the heads of the conspirators are off." They placed some battalions and pieces of artillery round the assembly to protect it from attack, and marched in two columns against the commune. It was then almost midnight.

The conspirators kept themselves together. Robespierre, after having been received with cries of enthusiasm, and promises of devotion and victory, had been conducted to the general council, between Payan and Fleuriot. The place de Grève was filled with men, with bayonets, pikes, and cannon. They only waited for the arrival of the sections to enable them to act. The presence of their deputies and the municipal commissaries in the very

midst of them, induced them to rely upon those bodies; Henriot answered for everything. The conspirators thought their victory certain; they named an executive commission, prepared addresses to the army, and drew up the lists. At half an hour after midnight, however, not one section had appeared, no order had been given; the triumvirs were continually sitting, and the multitude assembled in the place de Grève began to waver in consequence of such delay and indecision. A report that the sections had declared themselves, that the commune was outlawed, and the troops of the convention were advancing, was whispered from ear to ear. The temper of this armed multitude was already considerably softened, when some emissaries from the vanguard of the assembly glided into the midst of them, and raised the cry of *Long live the convention!* many voices repeated it. The proclamation declaring the commune outlawed, was read, and all the people, after having heard it, dispersed. In an instant the place de Grève was deserted. A few minutes afterwards Henriot came down with his sword in his hand to keep up their courage, and finding no one there, "How," cried he, "is it pos-

sible? These scoundrel cannoniers, who saved my life five hours ago, have now actually abandoned me!" He went up again; at this moment the columns of the convention arrived, surrounded the Hotel-de-Ville, silently took possession of all the avenues, and then sent forth the cry of *Long live the national convention!*

The conspirators, finding themselves undone, attempted to escape the blows of their enemies by dispatching themselves. Robespierre broke his jaw by a pistol shot; Lebas followed his example, but with better effect; he killed himself. The younger Robespierre threw himself from the third story, but survived his fall; Couthon gave himself many strokes with a hesitating hand; Saint-Just awaited his fate; Coffinhal accused Henriot of cowardice, and threw him from a window into the common sewer, and fled. The conventionalists, however, effected an entrance into the Hotel de Ville, traversed its deserted apartments, seized the conspirators, and conveyed them in triumph to the assembly. Bourdon entered the hall, exclaiming, *Victory! victory! The traitors no longer exist!* "The cowardly Robespierre is there," said the president, "they are carrying him

upon a litter, of course you do not wish him to be brought in?"—"No, no," cried they, "it is to the *place de la Revolution* that he must be carried." He was placed for some time at the committee of general safety before he was transferred to the Conciergerie. There, extended upon a table, with a bloody and disfigured countenance, subjected to the view, to the invectives and curses of the spectators; he beheld the different parties rejoicing over his fall, and upbraiding him with all the crimes he had committed. He displayed great insensibility to the excessive pain which he experienced. He was conducted to the Conciergerie, and was afterwards brought before the revolutionary tribunal, which, on proof of his identity, and that of his accomplices, sent them to the scaffold. On the 28th July [10th thermidor], about five o'clock in the evening, he ascended the death-cart, placed between Henriot and Couthon, who were as much mutilated as himself. His head was bound up in a bloody cloth, his face was livid, and his eye almost lifeless. An immense crowd pressed round the cart, giving the strongest and most noisy demonstrations of joy. They congra-

tulated and embraced one another, they came near to obtain a better view of him, and loaded him with imprecations. The gens-darmes pointed him out with their swords; as for himself, he appeared to regard the crowd with pity: Saint-Just surveyed it with an unmoved eye; the rest, to the number of twenty-two, were more cast down. Robespierre was the last who ascended the scaffold: the instant his head fell the multitude applauded, and the applause lasted for several minutes.

With him ended the reign of terror, although he was not the greatest zealot of that system in his party. If he aimed at supreme power, after having obtained it, moderation would have been necessary, and the system of terror, which ceased by his fall, would also have ceased with his triumph. In my opinion his destruction was inevitable: he had no organized force, his partisans, although numerous, were not enlisted and incorporated; he possessed only the great power derived from public opinion and the principle of terror; so that not being able to surprise his enemies by violence, like Cromwell, he endea-

voured to frighten them. Fear not succeeding, he tried insurrection. But as the support of the committees gave courage to the convention, so the sections, relying for support on the strength of the convention, naturally declared themselves against the insurgents. By attacking the government he roused the assembly, by rousing the assembly he let loose the people; and this coalition necessarily ruined him. The convention on the *9th thermidor* was no longer, as on the 31st May, divided and undecisive in the presence of a compact, bold, and numerous faction. All parties were united by defeat, by misfortune, and ever-threatening proscription, and in the event of a conflict, were associated by necessity. It was not in the power of Robespierre to avoid defeat. Was it in his power not to separate from the committees? No more than in the other case. At the point at which he had arrived, a man wishes to be alone; he is devoured by his passions, deceived by his hopes and by his fortune, which until then had been propitious; and when war is once declared, peace, repose, the division of power, are no more possible

than justice and mercy when the scaffold has been once erected. He must fall then by the very means which have served to raise him: the creature of faction, he must perish by the scaffold as the conqueror does by the sword.

CHAPTER X.

The convention after the fall of Robespierre.—Party of the committee.—Thermidorian party; how they were composed, and their aim.—Fall of the democratic parties of the committees.—Accusation of Lebon and Carrier.—State of Paris.—The Jacobins and faubourgs declare in favour of the old committees; la Jeunesse Dorée and the sections in favour of the Thermidorians.—Daily conflicts.—The club of the Jacobins is closed.—Accusations of Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, Barrère and Vadier.—The rising of *germinal*.—Transportation of the accused, and of some of the Mountainists, their partisans.—Insurrection of 20th May [1st prairial].—Defeat of the democratic party; disarming of the faubourgs; the lower order is excluded from the government, is deprived of the constitution of 93, and loses its physical power.

THE 27th July [9th thermidor] was the first day of the revolution on which those who had formerly attacked were compelled to yield. By this sign alone it is apparent that the ascendant movement of the revolution had rive d at its highest point. On this day an opposite movement was to commence. The general rising of all parties against a single

individual was calculated to put an end to the depression under which they laboured. The committees conquered themselves in Robespierre, and the decemviral government was deprived of the principal of terror, in which its power consisted. The committees liberated the convention, which by degrees liberated the whole republic. They nevertheless considered that they had only been labouring for themselves, and to increase the duration of the revolutionary government, whilst the greater part of those, who had supported them, had in view the end of the dictatorship, the independence of the assembly, and the establishment of legal order. From the day succeeding the 9th thermidor, there were then two opposite parties amongst the conquerors; that of the committees and that of the Mountainists, which was called the *thermidorian* party.

That of the committees was deprived of half its strength; besides the loss of its chief, it had no longer the support of the commune, whose insurgent members were sent to the scaffold, to the number of seventy-two, and which, after its double defeat under Hébert and under Robespierre, was never after re-

organized, and was wholly deprived of influence. But this party retained the direction of affairs through the committees. All the members were attached to the revolutionary system, in which alone some of them found their safety, such as Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, Barrère, Vadier, and Amar; others were apprehensive of a counter-revolution and the punishment of their colleagues, such as Carnot, Cambon, the two Prieurs, &c. &c. In the convention, it included all the commissaries lately sent on missions, many Mountainists who had distinguished themselves on the 27th July [9th thermidor], and the wreck of the party of Robespierre. The Jacobins united themselves to it without, and it always had the support of the lower class and the faubourgs.

The thermidorian party was composed of the greater part of the convention. The whole of the centre of the assembly, and what remained of the right, had joined the Mountain, which had recovered from its former fanatic violence. The coalition of the moderates, Boissy-d'Anglas, Sièyes, Cambacérès, Chénier, Thibaudeau, with the Dantonists Talien, Fréron, Legendre, Barras, Bourdon de l'Oise, Rovère, Bentabole,

Dumont, and the two Merlins, gave a new character to the assembly. After the 28th July it began to strengthen its influence in the convention; it very soon made its way into the government, and eventually succeeded in excluding those who filled its offices. Supported at that time by public opinion, by the assembly, and by the committees, it proceeded openly in its design; it pursued the principal decemvirs and some of their agents. As they had a number of partisans in Paris, it relied upon the young people against the Jacobins, and upon the sections against the faubourgs; at the same time, it recalled to the convention, as a reinforcement, all the deputies whom the committee of public safety had proscribed: first, the seventy-three, who had protested against the 31st May, and who afterwards became the victims of that day. The Jacobins were in great commotion; this party closed their club; the faubourgs made an insurrection, it disarmed them. After having overturned the revolutionary government, it designed to establish another, and to substitute, by the constitution of the year 3, a practicable, liberal, regular, and durable order of things for the extraordinary and pro-

visional state in which the convention had been placed from its first institution to that period. But all this could only be effected by degrees.

The two parties, after their joint victory, were not long in trying their strength with each other. The revolutionary tribunal excited above every thing the greatest horror. On the 29th July [11th thermidor] its operation was suspended, but Billaud-Varennes at the same sitting obtained a revocation of the decree of suspension. He pretended that none were criminal but the accomplices of Robespierre; and that the greater part of the judges and juries, being men of unblemished characters, it was desirable to retain them in their offices. Barrère presented a decree to this effect: he said that the triumvirs had done nothing for the revolutionary government; that they had even frequently opposed its measures; that their sole care had been to introduce their creatures into it, and to give it a direction favourable to their own projects: he insisted that, in order to strengthen the government and to maintain the law of the suspected, the tribunal, those who composed it, and even Fouquier Thinville.... At this name

a general murmur burst from the assembly. Fréron, making himself the organ of the common indignation, exclaimed, "I demand that the earth may be at length freed from that monster, and that Fouquier, now drunk with the blood which he has spilled, may be sent to hell to sleep himself sober." He was applauded, and a decree of accusation was immediately passed against Fouquier. Barrère did not, however, consider himself vanquished; he still preserved in the face of the convention the imperious language which the old committee had always used with success: it was custom and calculation on his part, well knowing that nothing is carried on so easily as that which has once succeeded.

But the political changes of Barrère, who was a nobleman, and who had been a *feuillant* royalist before the 10th August, did not permit him to assume that tone of inflexibility and command. "What is then," said Merlin de Thionville, "this president of the *feuillants*, who pretends to give law to us?" The hall rung with applause. Barrère became disturbed, and left the tribune; and this first check of the committees was the signal of their downfall in the convention.

The revolutionary tribunal continued to exist, but under different regulations and with other members. The law of the 22nd prairial was abolished; the proceedings were carried on with as much moderation and deliberation, and accompanied with as many forms for the protection of the accused, as they had been with precipitation and inhumanity. The old suspected were no longer subjected to this tribunal; they were retained some time longer in prison, but under gentle treatment, and were by degrees finally restored to liberty, according to the prudent plan which Camille-Desmoulins had proposed by means of the *committee of clemency*.

On the 31st July [13th thermidor], they deliberated on the state of the government itself. The committee of public safety wanted many members. Hérault de Séchelles had never been replaced; Jean-Bon-Saint-André and Prieur of Marne, were out on missions; Robespierre, Couthon, Saint-Just, had recently perished. They were succeeded by Talien, Bréard, Eschasseriaux, Treilhard, Thuriot, and Laloi, whose entrance into the committee diminished the influence of the old members. At the same time the two com-

mittees were reorganized; they were made more dependent upon the assembly, and more independent of each other. That of the public safety was entrusted with the charge of military and diplomatic affairs, and that of general safety with the regulation of the chief police. Being desirous, in abridging the revolutionary power, to appease the fever which had carried it to so high a pitch, and by degrees to disband the multitude, they reduced the daily meetings of the sections to a single one during the decade, and abolished the allowance of twentypence a-day to the indigent citizens who assisted in them.

These preliminary measures being taken on the 11th fructidor, one month after the fall of Robespierre, Lecointre de Versailles denounced Billaud, Collot, and Barrère, members of the committee of public safety, and Vadier, Amar, and Vouland, of the committee of general safety. Talien had the night before declaimed in violent terms against the government of terror, and the effect which had been produced by his speech encouraged Lecointre in his attack. He presented twenty-three articles of accusation against them; he imputed to them all the measures of cruelty or

tyranny, which they again threw back upon the triumvirs, and he denominated them the successors of Robespierre. This denunciation occasioned considerable disturbance in the assembly, and stirred up all those who supported the committees, or who were anxious that there should be no further divisions in the republic. "If the crimes with which Lecointre reproaches us," said Billaud-Varennes, "were proved, if they were as real as they are absurd and chimerical, there is not one of us, doubtless, whose blood ought not to stain the scaffold. But I defy Lecointre to prove by legal evidence, by testimony worthy of credit, a single one of the facts of which he accuses us." He refuted the articles of accusation of Lecointre; he reproached his enemies with being corrupt and intriguing, with wishing to sacrifice them *to the memory of Danton, an odious conspirator, the hope of all the paricidal factions.* "What do they want then," pursued he, "those men who call us the successors of Robespierre? Know ye, citizens, what they want?—To sacrifice liberty on the tomb of the tyrant." The accusation of Lecointre was premature; nearly the whole convention declared it calumnious. The accused and

their friends gave themselves up to the expression of unrestrained and still powerful indignation, for they were attacked for the first time; the accuser received little support, and was almost confounded. For this time, therefore, Billaud-Varennes and his friends had an easy triumph.

Some days afterwards the time for renewing the committees by thirds arrived. The lot fell upon Barrère, Carnot, and Robert Lindet, as the retiring members in the committee of public safety; and upon Vadier, Vouland, and Moyse Bayle, in the committee of general safety. They were succeeded by thermidorians; and Collot-d'Herbois, as well as Billaud Varennes, finding themselves too weak, sent in their resignation. One thing contributed still more to the ruin of their party, by turning the tide of popular opinion violently against them; and that was the publicity given to the crimes of Joseph Lebon and Carrier, two of the proconsuls of the committee. One had been sent to Arras and Cambray, a frontier exposed to invasion, and the other to Nantes, the last boundary of the war of La Vendée: they had signalized their mission above all others, by developing

a ferocity of character and a wantonness of tyranny, which indeed always accompany those who are invested with human omnipotence. Lebon, who was young, and of a weak constitution, was naturally gentle. In his first mission, he had been humane; but he incurred the reproaches of the committee, and was sent to Arras with instructions to shew himself a little more revolutionary. That he might not be behindhand with the inexorable policy of the committees, he gave himself up to the most unheard of excesses: he mingled debauchery with extermination; he always kept the guillotine, which he called Saint Guillotine, in his presence, and he constantly associated with the executioner, whom he admitted to his table. Carrier, having more victims to dispose of, had even surpassed Lebon; he was an irritable and bloody fanatic; he only wanted an opportunity of executing that which the imagination of Marat himself would not have dared to conceive. Sent to the borders of an insurgent country, he condemned to death the whole hostile population; priests, women, children, old men, and young girls. As the scaffolds were insufficient, he had substituted for the

revolutionary tribunal a band of assassins, called Marat's company; and for the guillotine, boats with false bottoms, by means of which he drowned his victims in the Loire. Cries for justice and punishment were raised against these crimes after the events of the 27th July [9th thermidor]. Lebon was the first who was attacked, because he was more particularly the agent of Robespierre: they arrived much later at Carrier, who was the agent of the committee of public safety, and whose conduct Robespierre had disapproved. The prisons of Paris contained ninety-four inhabitants of Nantes, who were sincerely attached to the revolution, and who had defended their city against the attack of the Vendeans. Carrier sent them to Paris as Federalists. Before the 27th July [9th thermidor] they had not ventured to bring them before the revolutionary tribunal; they now conducted them before it in order to expose, by their trial, all the crimes of Carrier. The prisoners were tried with affected solemnity, and the proceedings occupied nearly a month; time enough was thus allowed for public opinion to declare itself with effect, and when they were acquitted, a general demand was

made for justice upon the revolutionary committee of Nantes and the proconsul Carrier. Legendre renewed Lecointre's accusation against Billaud, Barrère, Collot, and Vadier, who were generously defended by Carnot, Prieur, and Cambon, their former colleagues, who insisted on sharing their fate. Nothing resulted from the accusation of Lecointre; and the members of the revolutionary committee of Nantes were alone put upon their trial. But the progress of the thermidorian party was obvious. The members of the committee were this time obliged to resort to a justification of their conduct; and, with respect to the denunciation of Legendre, they merely passed to the order of the day without declaring it calumnious, as they had that of Lecointre.

The revolutionary democrats were however still very powerful in Paris: if they had lost the commune, the tribunal, the convention, and the committees, the Jacobins and the faubourgs still remained. In these popular societies their party was concentrated, and particularly with a view to their defence. Carrier was assiduous in his attendance there, and implored their assistance; Billaud-Va-

rennes and Collot-d'Herbois attended with equal assiduity; but not being so openly threatened, were a little more circumspect. They were in consequence reproached with their silence. *The lion sleeps,* replied Billaud-Varennes, *but his waking will be terrible.* This club had been purified after the 28th July [10th thermidor], and it had in the name of the regenerated societies, congratulated the convention upon the fall of Robespierre, and the termination of tyranny. At this period, as its chiefs were prosecuted, and many of the Jacobins in the departments committed to prison, it came in the name of all the affiliated societies, "to echo the cry of grief which rung from all parts of the republic; the voice of oppressed patriots plunged into dungeons, from which the aristocracy had just been released."

The convention, far from listening to the wishes of the Jacobins, prohibited them, for the purpose of destroying their influence, from resorting to collective petitions and affiliations, and from continuing the correspondence between the parent and the other societies, and in this manner disorganized the famous confederation of the clubs. Re-

pulsed in the convention, the Jacobins anxiously exerted themselves in Paris, for they were still masters. It was then that the thermidorians assembled their people, whilst they also claimed the support of the sections. At the same time Fréron called the young people to arms, in his journal called *The Orator of the People*, and he placed himself at their head. This new and irregular militia was called the *Jeunesse dorée* of Fréron. Those who composed it belonged wholly to the middle and wealthy class of society; they had adopted a singular costume, which they called *costume à la victime.* Instead of the short jacket (carmagnole) of the Jacobins, they wore a square and open-breasted dress; their shoes were very low in the instep, and their hair hanging down on each side, and behind bound up in tresses called *cadenettes;* they were armed with short sticks, leaded like bludgeons. A portion of these young people, and of the sectionists, were royalists; the rest followed the impulse of the moment, which was anti-revolutionary. The latter acted without design, and without ambition, and declared for the strongest party, especially when that party, by its triumph, pro-

mised the return of order, the desire of which was very general. The former contended, under the thermidorians, against the old committees, as the thermidorians had contended in the old committees against Robespierre; it waited for the moment to act on its own account, and an opportunity occurred after the complete fall of the revolutionary party. In the violent position in which the two parties were placed, with their fears and their resentments, they pursued each other to the utmost, and charged one another in the streets, crying, *Long live the constitution!* or *Long live the Mountain!* The *Jeunesse dorée* were supreme at the Palais Royal, where they were supported by the merchants; but the Jacobins were the strongest in the garden of the Tuileries, to which their club was near.

These quarrels became every day more animated, and Paris was transformed into a field of battle, on which the fate of parties was abandoned to the decision of arms. This state of disorder and of warfare could not last long; and as those parties had not the discretion to come to an understanding, one of them necessarily obtained a victory over the other. The thermidorians were mak-

ing great progress, and victory belonged to them. The day after that on which Billaud had spoken of *the awaking of the lion* in the popular society, a great commotion took place in Paris. They wished to carry the club of the Jacobins by assault. They cried up and down the streets—*The great conspiracy of the Jacobins! the Jacobins are outlawed!* It was at this period that the revolutionary committee of Nantes was brought to trial. It exculpated itself by ascribing to Carrier those sanguinary orders which it had executed; a line of defence, which provoked an inquiry into its conduct in the convention. Carrier was admitted to defend himself before his sentence was pronounced. He laid his cruelties to the account of the cruelties of the Vendeans themselves, and of the intoxicating zeal of civil war. "When I acted," said he, "the air seemed still to ring with the civic songs of twenty thousand martyrs, who had repeated, *Long live the republic!* in the midst of tortures. How could expiring humanity have made herself heard in these terrible times? What would they, who now rise against me, have done in my situation? I saved the republic at Nantes, I have lived for my country alone,

I know how to die for it." Of five hundred voters, four hundred and ninety-eight were in favour of the accusation, the remaining two were also in favour of it, but conditionally.

The Jacobins, perceiving that from subaltern agents they ascended to the representatives themselves, began to think they were lost. They attempted to stir up the multitude, not so much to defend Carrier as to support their party itself, which was more and more menaced. But they were prevented by the *troupe dorée* and the sectionaries, who repaired to the place of their sittings for the purpose of dissolving the club. A brisk engagement took place. The besiegers broke the windows with stones, forced the doors, and, after some resistance on the part of the Jacobins, succeeded in dispersing them. The latter complained to the convention of the violence exercised against them. Rewbell, who was directed to prepare a report of this affair, was by no means favourable to them. "Where," said he, "has tyranny been organized? At the Jacobins.—Where has it found its supporters and its satellites? At the Jacobins.—Who have covered France with mourning, carried despair into families, filled

the country with prisons, rendered the republic so odious, that a slave pressed down by the weight of his irons would refuse to live under it? The Jacobins.—Who regrets the frightful government under which we have lived? The Jacobins.—If you have not now the courage to declare yourselves, you have no longer a republic, because you have Jacobins." The convention suspended them provisionally, in order to weed and reorganize, for it durst not destroy them at one blow. The Jacobins, in defiance of this decree, again assembled in arms near the place where their sittings were held. The thermidorian troop, who had before besieged them there, once more attacked them. It surrounded the club amidst cries of, *Long live the convention! Down with the Jacobins!* The latter prepared to defend themselves; they left their seats, crying, *Long live the republic!* they took possession of the doors, and made a sortie. At first they took a few prisoners; but soon giving way before superior numbers, they surrendered the place, and passed through the ranks of the conquerors, who, after having disarmed, covered them with indignities, hootings, and even blows. These illegal con-

flicts were conducted with all the excesses which accompany the struggles of parties.

The commissaries of the convention came on the following day, and closed the club, affixing seals upon the registers and upon the papers, and from that moment the Jacobins ceased to exist. This popular association had most essentially served the cause of the republic at a time when it was necessary, in order to repel the attacks of Europe, to place the government in the hands of the multitude, and to protect the republic with energetic defence; but at the present time they could have no other effect than to counteract the new order of things.

The position of affairs was changed; it was fit that liberty should succeed to dictatorship, since the safety of the revolution was effected, and it was expedient to return to legal government in order to preserve it. An extraordinary and exorbitant power, like that of the confederation of clubs, was sure to terminate in the defeat of the party which had supported it, and that party end with the circumstances to which it owed its birth.

Carrier, being transferred before the revolutionary tribunal, was instantly tried, and

with the greater part of his accomplices condemned. Whilst they were still trying him, the seventy-three deputies, who had been excluded from the assembly on account of their protest against the proceedings of the 31st May, were recalled to their functions. Merlin of Douay applied for their re-admission in the name of the committee of public safety; his report was received with applause, and the seventy-three again took their seats in the convention. They, in their turn, urged the recall of the outlawed deputies, but they were met by a spirited opposition. The thermidorians and the members of the new committee were apprehensive that, by such a measure, they should be bringing the revolution itself into question. They were also apprehensive of introducing a new party into the already divided convention, and of bringing back to it implacable enemies, who might easily operate a re-action with respect to themselves, similar to that which had already taken place against the old committees. They therefore repelled the attempt with violence, and Merlin of Douay went so far as to say, "Do you wish to open the gates of the Temple?" The young son of Louis XVI

was confined there, and the Girondists were, in consequence of the events succeeding the 31st May, confounded with the royalists; otherwise, the 31st May still figured among the revolutionary dates by the side of the 10th August and 14th July. It was necessary that the retrograde movement should proceed still further, in order to attain this end. The republican counter-revolution had returned from the 27th July [9th thermidor] 1794, to the 3rd October 1793, the day on which the seventy-three were arrested, but not to the 2nd June 1793, the day on which the twenty-two were arrested. After having overthrown Robespierre and the committees, it was necessary that it should attack Marat and the Mountain. For this purpose, in the nearly geometrical return of the popular action, some months must still elapse.

The abolition of the decemviral government proceeded. The decree of expulsion against the priests and the nobles, who had formed two of the proscribed classes under the system of terror, was revoked; the *maximum* was suppressed, that, by putting an end to commercial tyranny, confidence might be restored: they engaged most warmly in an

endeavour to substitute the most general liberty for the despotic restraint of the committee of public safety. This period was also distinguished by the independence of the journals, the re-establishment of worship, and the relinquishment of the property of the federalists, which had been confiscated during the reign of the committees. It was a complete re-action of the revolutionary government; it soon reached Marat and the Mountain. After the 27th July [9th thermidor], they wanted a great revolutionary reputation to oppose to that of Robespierre, and they had chosen Marat. They decreed him the honours of the Pantheon, the grant of which Robespierre had, during his omnipotence, postponed. But he too was attacked in his turn. His bust was in the convention, at the theatres, in the public squares, and in the popular assemblies. The *Jeunesse dorée* broke it to pieces at the theatre Feydeau: the Mountain remonstrated, but the convention decreed that *no citizen should be entitled to the honours of the Pantheon, nor his bust placed in the convention, until ten years after his death.* The bust of Marat disappeared from the hall; and, as the commotion in the faubourgs was

very considerable, the sections, the ordinary guard of the convention, filed off in the midst of it. There was also in front of the Invalids a mountain, crowned with a colossal statue of Hercules killing the hydra. The section of the Corn Market demanded of the assembly that it should be pulled down: some murmurs were heard from the left. "This giant," said a member, "is the image of the people."—"I see nothing but a mountain," replied another; "and what is a mountain, if it be not a lasting protest against equality!" These words were covered with applause; they were sufficient to procure the petition a favourable reception, and to overturn this monument of the victory and domination of a party.

Then it was that the proscribed members of the convention were recalled; their outlawry had been reversed for some time. Isnard and Louvet wrote to the assembly, asking to be reinstated in their rights: the consequences of the 31st May and the insurrection of the departments were always objected against them. "I will not do the national convention the injustice," said Chénier, who spoke in their favour, "to place

before its eyes the phantom of federalism, which they have dared to make the principal head of accusation against your colleagues. They have fled, it is said; they have concealed themselves. This then is their crime, and would that it had pleased the fates of the republic that this had been the crime of all! Why were there not caverns deep enough to preserve to their country the meditations of Condorcet and the eloquence of Vergniaud? Why, on the 10th thermidor, did not a hospitable land again bring to light this band of energetic patriots and virtuous republicans? But they fear schemes of vengeance from men soured by misfortune. Instructed in the school of adversity, they have learned to sigh over human errors. No, no; Condorcet, Rabaud Saint-Etienne, Vergniaud, Camille-Desmoulins, wished not for holocausts of blood, and it is not by hecatombs that their manes can be appeased!"—The left opposed the motion of Chénier. "You are going," cried Bentabole, "to awaken every description of passion. If you attack the insurrection of the 31st May, you prefer an indictment against eighty thousand men who have been concerned in it."—"Let us take care," replied

Sieyès, " that we do not confound the operation of tyranny with that of principles. When men, supported by an inferior authority, the rival of our own, succeeded in organizing the greatest of all crimes, in the fatal events of the 31st May and 2nd June, it was not a work of patriotism but an outrage of tyranny: from that period, therefore, you have seen the convention governed, the majority oppressed, and the minority dictating laws. The actual session may be divided into three periods; until the 31st May, the oppression of the convention by the people; until the 27th July [9th thermidor] the oppression of the people by the convention, itself the subject of tyranny; and lastly, since the 27th July, justice predominates, because the convention has re-assumed all its rights." He demanded the recal of the proscribed members, as a pledge of reunion in the assembly, and of safety for the state. Merlin of Douay also proposed their readmission in the name of the committee of public safety. It was granted; and twenty-two conventionalists re-assumed their seats, after a banishment of eight months. Amongst them were Isnard, Louvet, Lanjuinais, Kervelegan, Henri Larivière, Larével-

lière-Lepeaux, and Lesage, the remnant of the brilliant and unfortunate Gironde. They joined the moderate party, which became more and more constituted of the wrecks of different parties. Ancient enemies, forgetting their resentments and their rivalry for power, united together, having now the same interest and the same views. It was the commencement of a pacification between those who sought a republic against the royalists, and a practicable constitution against the revolutionists. At this period, all the measures relating to the federalists were repealed, and the Gironde placed themselves at the head of the republican counter-revolution.

Nevertheless, the convention was hurried much too far by the re-actors; it fell into an excess of justice in its wish to repair everything and to punish all. It was expedient, after the abolition of the decemviral government, to proclaim oblivion of the past, and to cover up the gulf of the revolution, after having thrown into it a few expiatory victims. Security alone produces peace, and peace only permits liberty. In again pursuing an intemperate course, they did no more than effect a dislodgment of tyranny, of violence,

and of calamity. Hitherto citizens had been sacrificed to the multitude, merchants to consumers: now it was quite the contrary; usurious interest and high profits succeeded the *maximum*, and the accusers of the middle class exceeded even the popular accusers. All who had taken a part in the dictatorial government were pursued with the utmost fury. The sections, which were the main seat of the citizens, demanded that the members of their revolutionary committees, composed of *sans-culottes*, should be disarmed and punished. There was a general hue-and-cry against the terrorists; a name which every day embraced a greater number than before. The departments accused all the old proconsuls, and thus, by a threat of great and perpetual reprisals, drove to despair a numerous party, from whom there was nothing more to fear; because they had no longer any power.

The dread of proscription, and many other causes, disposed it to revolt. The season had been very unfavourable, and the scarcity of food was dreadful: labour and its produce were diminished since the revolutionary era; during which, the richer class had been imprisoned, and the poorer class had governed.

The suppression of the *maximum* had occasioned a violent crisis, of which the merchants and contractors availed themselves to increase their profits, and to exercise a disastrous monopoly. To add to the difficulty, assignats were in discredit, and their value fell every day: they had issued them to the amount of more than eight thousand millions of francs. Their insecurity in consequence of the revolutionary confiscations, which had depreciated the national property, and which it was known must be redeemed out of the mortgage fund; the want of confidence of the citizens, merchants, &c., in the stability of the republican government, which they regarded as provisional: all those things had diminished the real value of assignats fifteen times below their nominal value. They were received with reluctance; and cash, as it was the more sought after, was so much the more carefully hoarded up, and the value of paper money still further decreased. The people wanting provisions, and not having the power, even with assignats, of purchasing them, were reduced to great distress: they attributed it to the merchants, to the contractors, to the land-holders, to the government, and they called to mind, not without regret, that

not long ago, they had both bread and power under the committee of public safety. The convention had prudently named a committee of subsistence to provision Paris: but this committee could not, day after day, procure, without much trouble and at considerable expense, the fifteen hundred sacks of corn necessary for this vast city; and the people, who waited in crowds for half a day, at the doors of the bakers, for the delivery of the bad bread which was distributed to each inhabitant, uttered complaints and violent murmurs: they nicknamed Boissy-d'Anglas, the president of the committee of subsistence, *Boissy Famine*. Such was the state of an exasperated and fanatical multitude at the time sentence was passing on its ancient chiefs.

On the 2nd March [12th ventose], shortly after the re-admission of the last Girondists, the assembly had decreed the arrest of Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, Barrère, and Vadier; their trial before the convention was appointed for the 23rd March [3rd germinal]. On 21st March [the 1st] which was the day of the decade and of the assembly of the sections, their partisans prepared a disturbance, for the purpose of preventing their

being put upon their trial: the outward sections of the two faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau were devoted to them. From those places, half petitioners and half rebels, they set off to appear before the convention; they demanded—*Bread, the constitution of* 1793, *and the liberty of the imprisoned patriots.* They met some young people and threw them into the basins of the Tuileries. But the report having soon spread that the convention was in danger, and that the Jacobins were going to attempt the rescue of their chiefs, the *troupe dorée,* followed by about five thousand citizens belonging to the interior sections, arrived to disperse the men of the faubourgs, and to act as the guard of the assembly. The latter, warned by this fresh danger, re-established, on the proposal of Sièyes, the old martial law, under the name of the "law of the grand police."

The commotion in favour of the accused having failed, they were transferred, on 23rd March [3rd germinal], before the convention. Vadier alone was contumacious. Their conduct was investigated with the greatest solemnity; they were accused of having tyrannized over the people, and oppressed the conven-

tion. Although proofs in support of the accusation were not wanting, they defended themselves with much address: they laid the oppression of the assembly and of themselves to the charge of Robespierre; they palliated the measures adopted by the committee, and sanctioned by the convention, on the ground of the excitement of the time, the defence of the republic, and the necessity of security. Their former colleagues bore testimony in their favour, and wished to make common cause with them. The Cretans [*Cretois*]—for so the wreck of the Mountain were called—also warmly supported them. Nine days had been consumed in carrying on the proceeding, and each day had been appropriated to making the accusation and hearing the defence. The sections of the faubourgs were in great agitation. The meetings, which continued from the 21st March [1st germinal], were multiplied on the 1st April [12]; and another insurrection took place to suspend that trial which the former could not prevent. The insurgents, this time, bolder and more numerous, forced the doors of the convention, and penetrated into the heart of it, carrying flags inscribed with the words—*Bread, the*

constitution of 93, *liberty of the patriots.* A great number of the deputies of the Crete declared in their favour; others, in the greatest consternation at this tumult, and at the disorder of this popular invasion, waited for the interior sections coming to rescue them. Deliberation was at an end. The tocsin which had been taken from the commune after its defeat, and placed on the top of the Tuileries, where the convention held its sittings, sounded the alarm, and the committee ordered the drums to be beaten. In a short time the citizens of the nearest sections met, marched in arms to the assistance of the convention, and a second time redeemed it. The accused, who had served as a pretence for the rising, were condemned to transportation; and a decree of arrest passed against the seventeen members of the Crete, who, having shewn themselves well disposed to the insurgents, might be regarded as their accomplices. Amongst them were Cambon, Ruamps, Léonard Bourdon, Thuriot, Chasles, Amar, and Lecointre, who, since the readmission of the Girondists, were again become Mountainists. On the following day those condemned to transportation were conducted to the castle of Ham.

The affair of the 21st April [12th germinal], decided nothing. The faubourgs had been repulsed without having been subdued; and before a party can be put an end to, a decisive defeat must deprive it of the residue of its strength and confidence. After so many questions decided against the democrats, one still remained of the last importance—that of the constitution. On that depended the ascendancy of the multitude or of the citizens. The defenders of the revolutionary government then fell back upon the democratic constitution of 93, which held out the prospect of repossessing themselves of the authority they had lost. On the other side, their adversaries endeavoured to substitute a constitution which would secure to them the advantages they had obtained, by a greater concentration of the government, and by placing it in the hands of the middle class. For a month the two parties prepared for the contest on this last field of battle. The constitution of 93 having been sanctioned by the people, there was a great prejudice in its favour: they attacked it therefore with the utmost precaution. At first they promised to carry it into effect without restriction; afterwards, they named a

commission of eleven members, to prepare *organic laws* which might render it practicable: they next hazarded objections against it, on the ground that it separated the different authorities, and only acknowledged one sole assembly, dependant upon the people even in matters of legislation. Finally, a deputation from the sections went so far as to designate the constitution as a *decemviral constitution, dictated by terror.* All its partisans, indignant and full of apprehensions, organized an insurrection to maintain it. This was another 31st May, as terrible as the former, but which not having the support of an all-powerful commune, not being directed by a general commander, not meeting an alarmed convention and submissive sections, had not the same result.

The conspirators, warned by the bad success of the disturbance of the 21st March and 1st April [1st and 12th germinal] forgot nothing which might compensate for their want of organization and of design. On 20th May [1st prairial] they decreed in the *name of the people an insurrection to obtain bread and resume its rights,* the abolition of the revolutionary government, the establishment of

the democratic constitution of 93; the deposition of the actual members of administration, and their arrest; the liberation of the patriots; the convocation of the primary assemblies for the 18th June [25th prairial], the convocation of the legislative assembly, designed to supersede the convention, for the 13th July [25 messidor], and the suspension of all authority not derived from the people. They determined to establish a new municipality to serve as a common centre; to seize upon the barriers, the telegraph, the alarm gun, the tocsin, and the drums; and not to stop until they had secured subsistence and repose, happiness and liberty, to the French nation. They invited the cannoniers, the gensdarmes, and the troops of foot and horse, to enrol themselves under the banners of the people: and they marched upon the convention.

The latter were at that moment deliberating upon the means of preventing insurrection. The daily crowds, which had assembled on account of the distribution of bread and of the popular fermentation, had not allowed it to perceive the preparations for a grand rising, nor consequently to organize any mea-

sures with respect to it. The committees hastened to apprize it of its danger. It instantly declared itself permanent, and made Paris responsible for the safety of the representatives of the republic; closed its doors, outlawed the chiefs of the rioters, summoned all the citizens of the sections to arms, and named as their leaders eight commissaries, amongst whom were Legendre, Henri Larivière, Kervelegan, &c. Scarcely had they departed, when a great noise was heard without. One of the outer doors was forced, and the women rushed to the tribunes, exclaiming—*Bread, and the constitution of* 93! The convention received them with a firm demeanour. "Your cries," said the president Vadier to them, "cannot move us; they will not hasten a single moment the arrival of provisions—they will only tend to delay it." A frightful tumult drowned the voice of the president, and interrupted their deliberations. They then cleared the tribunes. But the insurgents of the faubourgs soon reached the inner doors, and, finding them shut, fell upon them with hammers and hatchets. The doors gave way, and the mob rushed into the very middle of the convention.

The body of the convention then became a field of battle. The veterans and the gens-darmes, to whom the protection of the assembly was confided, cried to arms; the deputy Auguis, with a drawn sabre in his hand, put himself at their head, and succeeded at first in repulsing the assailants. They even made some prisoners. But the insurgents returned more numerous to the charge, and again invaded the body of the convention. The deputy Féraud entered precipitately, pursued by the insurgents, who fired many shots in the hall. They took aim at Boissy d'Anglas, who sat in the president's chair. Féraud darted to the tribune to cover him with his body; he was attacked with pikes and sabres, and fell dangerously wounded. They dragged him into the passage, and confounding him with Fréron, cut off his head, which they placed at the top of a pike.

After this contest they remained masters of the hall. The greater part of the deputies had taken to flight. None remained but the members of the Crete and Boissy d'Anglas, who sat covered, calm, and insensible, unmoved by the outrages and threats which were heaped upon him, continually protesting in the name

of the convention against the popular violence. They presented the bloody head of Féraud to him, and he bowed himself in token of respect before it; they wished to compel him, with pikes at his breast, to put the propositions of the insurgents to the vote, and he constantly met them with the most determined refusal. But the Cretans, who approved the insurrection, took possession of the offices and of the tribune, and decreed, in the midst of the applause of the multitude, all the articles contained in the manifest of the insurrection. The deputy Rome constituted himself their organ. They moreover named an executive commission, composed of Bourbotte, Duroy, Duquesnoy, and Prieur de la Marne, and a general commandant of the armed force, the deputy Soubrany. They thus prepared for the return of their domination. They decreed the recal of their imprisoned colleagues, the depositions of their enemies, the democratical constitution, and the re-establishment of the Jacobins. But a momentary invasion of the assembly was not sufficient; the sections must be conquered; for with them alone must the battle take place.

The commissaries sent to the sections, had

very quickly assembled them. The battalions of *La Butte-des-Moulins, Lepelletier, des Piques,* and *La Fontaine Grenelle,* who were the nearest, very soon took possession of the Carousal and its principal avenues. The complexion of affairs was immediately changed; Legendre, Kervelegan, and Auguis, besieged in their turn the insurgents at the head of the sections. They at first experienced some resistance, but they soon penetrated with fixed bayonets into the hall, where the conspirators were still in consultation, and Legendre called out, *In the name of the law, I command the armed citizens to retire.* For a moment they hesitated, but the arrival of battalions, who entered through all the doors, intimidated them, and they evacuated the hall with the disorder of flight. The members of the assembly returned, the sections were thanked, the deliberations of the former were resumed, all the measures adopted in the interval were annulled, and forty representatives, to whom fourteen others were afterwards added, were arrested as guilty of having organized, or by their discourses sanctioned, the insurrection. It was then midnight, and at five o'clock in

the morning the prisoners were already six leagues from Paris.

Notwithstanding this defeat, the faubourgs did not consider themselves beaten, and the next day they advanced in a body with their cannon against the convention. The sections, on the other hand, repaired there for its defence. The two parties were ready to commence hostilities; the cannon of the faubourgs which had been mounted on the Carousal, was already pointed against the castle, when the assembly sent commissaries to the insurgents. The negociations commenced; a deputy of the faubourgs being admitted to the assembly, at first demanded that which had been required the evening before, adding, "We are determined to die at our post rather than relinquish any of our demands. I fear nothing—my name is Saint-Légier. Long live the republic! Long live the convention, if it be the friend of the principles I believe it is!" They received the deputy in a favourable manner, and *fraternized* with the faubourgs, without however positively granting them anything. The latter, having no longer a general council of the commune to support

their resolutions, nor a commander like Henriot to keep them encamped until the very moment when their propositions should be decreed, did not proceed any farther. They retired, after having received an assurance that the convention would anxiously occupy itself with the question of subsistence, and that it would shortly publish the *organic laws* of the constitution of 93. From the affair of this day, it is very clear that an immense physical force and a determinate design are not sufficient to insure success, but that chiefs and an authority to support and direct an insurrection are also requisite. One single legal power now only existed; the party which possessed its favour triumphed.

Six democratical members of the Mountain, Goujon, Bourbotte, Rome, Duroy, Duquesnoy, and Soubrany, were handed over to a military commission. They appeared before it with a firm countenance, like men fanatically attached to their cause, but almost entirely free from violence. There was nothing against them except the commotion of *prairial;* but that, in a time of faction, was sufficient, and they were condemned to death. They all stabbed themselves with one knife, which

they passed from one to the other, exclaiming, *Long live the republic!* Rome, Goujon, and Duquesnoy were fortunate enough to dispatch themselves; the three others, in a dying state, but with a serene demeanour, were conducted to the scaffold.

Notwithstanding the repulse of the 20th May [1st prairial] and the evasion of their demand on the 21st [2nd], the faubourgs still possessed the means of insurrection. An event much more insignificant than the preceding disturbances, occasioned their final overthrow. The assassin of Féraud was discovered, condemned, and on the 4th, the day of execution, a mob succeeded in delivering him. A general cry was raised against the outrage, and the convention ordered the faubourgs to be disarmed. They were surrounded by all the interior sections: after having disposed themselves for resistance, they yielded, abandoning some of their leaders, their arms, and their artillery. The democratic party having lost its chiefs, its clubs, and its offices, nothing was left to it but an armed force, which rendered it still formidable; and institutions which might enable it to re-conquer all that it had lost. The inferior class, in consequence of this last blow,

was entirely excluded from the government of the state; the revolutionary committees, who formed its assemblies, were destroyed; the cannoniers who constituted its troops were disbanded; the constitution of 93, which was its code, was abolished; and the government of the multitude was at an end.

From the 27th July [9th thermidor] to the 20th May [1st prairial], the party of the Mountain was treated as the Girondist party had been from the 2nd June to the 28th July. Seventy-six of its members were condemned to death, or ordered to be arrested. It was obliged to submit, in its turn, to the same fate as that to which it had reduced the other; for in the season of passion parties have no notion of conciliation, they think of nothing but victory. Like the Girondists, they rose up once more to seize the power they had lost, and like them they fell. Vergniaud, Brissot, Gaudet, &c. were tried by the revolutionary tribunal; Bourbotte, Duroy, Soubrany, Rome, Goujon, and Duquesnoy, by a military commission. They all died with the same courage; from which it may be seen, that all parties are alike, and are regulated by the same maxims, or, if you please, by the same

necessity. From this period, the middling class resumed the conduct of the revolution out of doors, and the assembly was as much united under the Girondists as it had been after the 2nd June under the Mountainists.

CHAPTER XI.

Campaign of 1793 and 1794.—Disposition of the armies at the intelligence of the 27th July [9th thermidor.]—Conquest of Holland; positions upon the Rhine.—Peace of Bâle with Prussia; peace with Spain.—Descent of Quiberon.—The re-action ceases to be conventional, and becomes royalist.—Massacre of the revolutionists in the south.—Directorial constitution of the year 3.—Decrees of August [fructidor] which require the re-election of two-thirds of the convention.—Violence of the royalist party of the sections; its insurrection.—Events of the 4th October [13th vendemiaire],—Nomination of the councils and of the directory.—End of the convention; its duration and character.

THE prosperity of the revolution abroad contributed more especially to the fall of the dictatorial government and the party of the Jacobins. The increasing victories of the republic, to which they had immensely contributed by the vigour or the madness of their measures, rendered their power now unnecessary. It was the committee of public safety which, while it oppressed with its strong and formidable arm the interior of France, developed its resources, organized its armies, provided ge-

nerals, and insured victories; which finally secured the triumph of the revolution with respect to Europe. A state of prosperity did not require the same efforts, and its mission was accomplished, it being the property of such a dictatorship to save a country and a cause, and to perish by the very safety which it has produced. Internal events have prevented us from giving a brief sketch of the impulse given to the armies after the 31st May by the committee of public safety, and the results by which it was succeeded.

The *levy en masse* which had taken place during the summer of 1793 formed the troops of the Mountain. The heads of this party very soon selected from the inferior ranks, Mountainist generals in the place of those belonging to the party of the Gironde. These generals were Jourdan, Pichegru, Hoche, Moreau, Westermann, Dugommier, Marceau, Kléber, &c. Carnot became, by his entrance into the committee of public safety, the minister of war and the major-general of all the republican armies. Instead of dispersed bodies acting with little concert upon isolated points, he collected strong and concentrated masses of force, and directed them upon one grand

object. It was he who began the plan of carrying on war on a large scale, which he tried with decided success at Watignies, in the character of commissary of the convention. This important victory, to which he contributed in person, threw the allied generals, Clairfait and and the prince of Cobourg, behind the Sambre, the occasioned the raising of the siege of Maubeuge. During the winter of 1793 and 1794, the two armies remained within sight of each other without attempting any enterprise.

At the opening of the campaign, both of them conceived the plan of an invasion. The Austrian army threw itself upon the cities of the Somme, Péronne, St. Quentin, and Arras, and threatened Paris, whilst the French army again projected the conquest of the Netherlands. The plan of the committee of public safety was arranged in a very different manner from the vague design of the coalition. Pichegru, at the head of fifty thousand men of the army of the north, penetrated into Flanders, resting upon the sea and upon the Escaut. On his right, twenty thousand men commanded by Moreau, marched upon Menin and Courtray; general Souham remained with thirty thousand men under Lisle, to sup-

port the extreme part of the right wing of the army of invasion against the Austrians; whilst Jourdan, with the army of the Moselle, directed his course towards Charleroi by Arlon and Dinant, to effect a junction with the army of the north.

The Austrians, attacked in Flanders, and threatened to be surprised in the rear by Jourdan, decamped very expeditiously from their positions on the Somme. Clairfait and the duke of York were defeated at Courtray and at Hooglide, by the army of Pichegru; and Cobourg at Fleurus, by that of Jourdan, who had just taken Charleroi. The two victorious generals rapidly completed the invasion of the Low Countries. The Anglo-Dutch army fell back upon Antwerp; from Antwerp upon Bréda, and from Bréda upon Bois-le-Duc, experiencing in their route continual checks. It passed the Vahal, and threw itself into Holland. The Austrians attempted, equally unsuccessfully, to cover Brussels and Maëstricht: they were pursued and beaten by Jourdan's army, which, since its junction with the army of the north, had taken the name of the army of Sambre and Meuse, and which did not leave them behind the Roër, as

Dumouriez had done, but drove them beyond the Rhine. Jourdan made himself master of Cologne and Bonn, and communicated on his left with the right of the army of the Moselle, which had advanced, and which in conjunction with him occupied Coblentz. A general and concerted movement of all the French armies had taken place, and they pushed on to the frontiers of the Rhine. At the period of the defeats, the lines of Veissembourg had been forced. The committee of public safety employed, at the army of the Rhine, those expeditious measures which distinguished its policy. The commissaries Saint-Just and Lebas gave the chief command to Hoche, and made terror and victory the order of the day. In a short time generals Brunswick and Wurmser were driven from Haguenau upon the lines of Lauter, and not being able to maintain themselves even there, passed the Rhine at Philipsbourg. Spire and Worms were retaken. The republican troops were everywhere victorious, and remained in occupation of the Netherlands, that part of Holland which is situated on the left of the Meuse, and all the towns upon

the banks of the Rhine, except Mayence and Manheim, which were closely besieged.

The army of the Alps did not make much progress in this campaign. It attempted, but unsuccessfully, the invasion of Piedmont. Upon the Spanish frontier the war had commenced under disastrous auspices: the two armies of the eastern and western Pyrenees, few in number, and little accustomed to war, had been consequently beaten, and had at length retired, the one under Perpignan and the other under Bayonne. It was late enough before the committee of public safety directed its attention and its efforts to this point, which was not the most dangerous; but as soon as it had introduced its system, its generals, and its organization, into these two armies, the face of affairs totally changed. Dugommier, after repeated successes, expelled the Spaniards from the French territory, and penetrated into the peninsula by Catalonia. Moncey also invaded it by the valley of Bastan, at the other opening of the Pyrenees, and made himself master of St. Sebastian and of Fontarabia. The coalition was everywhere vanquished, and some of

the confederate powers began to repent of their too confident adherence to it.

During these occurrences, the intelligence of the revolution of the 27th July [9th thermidor] reached the armies. They were entirely republican, and were apprehensive lest the fall of Robespierre should carry along with it that of the popular government: they heard it therefore with marked disapprobation. But as the armies were in subjection to the civil power, none of them attempted an insurrection. The insurrections of the army only occurred between the 14th July and 31st May; because, being the refuge of vanquished parties, at every crisis of affairs the military chiefs had the advantage of a political seniority, and contended against their new opponents with all the vigour of a compromised faction. Under the committee of public safety, on the contrary, the most celebrated generals possessed no political importance, and were subjected to the terrible discipline of party. The convention had no trouble in retaining the armies in obedience.

A short time afterwards the operations of the invaders were continued in Holland and the Spanish peninsula. The United Provin-

ces were attacked in the middle of winter, and at many points, by Pichegru, who summoned the Batavian patriots to liberty. The party opposed to the stadtholder seconded the victorious efforts of the French army, and the revolution was effected at Leyden, Amsterdam, the Hague, and Utrecht, at the same time as the conquest of them. The stadtholder fled into England; his authority was abolished, and the assembly of the states-general alone governed the Batavian republic, which contracted an immediate union with France. This important conquest paralyzed the efforts of the English, and forced Prussia, threatened on the Rhine and through Holland, to conclude, at Bâle, with the French republic a peace, to which its reverses and the affairs of Poland had for some time disposed it. Peace was also concluded with Spain, alarmed at the progress of the French arms upon its territories. Figuiere and the fort of Roses had been taken, and Perignon advanced into Catalonia, whilst Moncey, after having made himself master of Villa-Réal, Bilboa, and Vittoria, marched against the Spaniards, who had retired upon the frontiers of Old Castile. The cabinet of Madrid de-

manded peace. It acknowledged the French republic, which restored its conquests, and received in exchange that part of St. Domingo which was retained by Spain. The two seasoned armies of the Pyrenees joined the army of the Alps, which, in consequence of this reinforcement, very soon invaded Piedmont, and passed into Italy.

These partial pacifications, and the disasters of the allied troops, directed the efforts of England and of the emigrants to the other side. The moment had arrived for taking a counter-revolutionary position in the interior. In 1791, when unanimity prevailed in France, the royalists had founded all their hopes on foreign powers; at present, the divisions at home, and the defeats sustained by Europe, left them no other resource than conspiracies. Unfortunate enterprises do not, as it is known, ever drive the vanquished parties to despair: it is victory alone which tires, which exhausts, and it is that which sooner or later brings back the domination of those who wait for it.

The events of *prairial*, and the defeat of the Jacobin party, had decided the counter-revolutionary movement. At this period the reaction, which had been conducted by the mo-

derate republicans, became generally royalist. The partisans of the monarchy were still as much divided as they had been from the opening of the states-general till the 10th August. In the interior, the old constitutionalists, whose strength lay in the sections, and who were composed of the rich middle order, did not understand monarchy in the same sense as the absolute royalist. That rivalry and opposition of interests, which is natural between citizens and the privileged orders, was always strongly felt. The absolute royalists themselves did not agree: the party which was beaten in France had little sympathy with that which was enrolled in the armies of Europe. But besides the divisions which existed between the Vendeans and the emigrants, there were also others amongst the emigrants after their first departure. All these royalists, however, though of different opinions, yet, as the time had not arrived for disputing the prize of victory, were perfectly agreed on jointly attacking the convention. The emigrants and the priests, who for some months had been returning in great numbers, assumed the banners of the sections, well assured that if they succeeded by means of the

middle class, they would be able to establish their own form of government; for they were agreed upon their chief, and had a precise aim: important points, in which the sections were deficient.

This new kind of re-action was for some time kept under at Paris; for the convention, which possessed great power, and remained neuter, was equally desirous of preventing the violence and usurpations of both parties. At the same time that it destroyed the domination of the Jacobins, it repressed the vindictive spirit of the royalists. Then it was that the greater part of the *troupe dorée* deserted its cause; that the leaders of the sections prepared the citizens for a contest with the assembly; and that the confederacy of the journalists succeeded to that of the Jacobins. Laharpe, Richer-de-Serisy, Poncelin, Tronçon du Coudray, Marchenna, &c. became the organs of the new party, and formed themselves into a club, a peculiar feature of which was literature. The active but irregular troops of this party assembled at the Theatre Feydeau, at the boulevard des Italiens, and at the Palais Royal, and commenced the chase of the Jacobins to the air of "The waking of the people."

The term *terrorist* now became the word of proscription, by virtue of which an *honest man* might conscientiously run down a revolutionist; and the class of terrorists was extended according to the passions of the new faction, whose partisans wore their hair *à la victime.* They were armed with a heavy bludgeon, and had lately adopted a grey dress with a black or green collar, the uniform of the Chouans.

In the departments, however, the re-action was much more violent, for there was no authority to interpose and prevent the carnage with which they were visited. There were but two parties there; one of them consisting of those persons who had been in authority, and the other of such as had been oppressed by the Mountain. The remainder of the population were alternately governed by the royalists and the democrats. The latter, foreseeing the terrible reprisals to which they would be subjected if they once yielded, resolved to carry on the contest as long as possible; but the defeat of their party at Paris produced their submission in the departments: an event which was succeeded by party executions of the same nature as those which took place under the pro-consuls of the

committee of public safety. The south became in a peculiar manner the scene of massacres *en masse*, and of individual slaughter. Associations were formed amongst the royalists, under the names of *societies of Jesus* and *societies of the Sun*, who took a dreadful revenge for the sufferings of their party. At Lyons, Aix, Tarascon, and Marseilles, they butchered in prison all those who had taken any share in the preceding government. In fact, nearly all the south became the victims of another 2nd September. At Lyons, after the first massacre of the revolutionists, the men belonging to the societies gave chase to the fugitives, and whenever they met one, they immediately, without any other ceremony than the cry of "Here is a *Matavon*," (for this was the name by which they were called) dispatched him, and threw the body into the Rhone. At Tarascon, the victims were cast from the top of a tower upon a rock adjoining that river. During this new reign of terror, and this general defeat of the revolutionary party, the emigrants, with the assistance of England, attempted the hardy enterprize of Quiberon.

The Vendeans had been exhausted by their

repeated defeats, but they were not entirely reduced. Their losses, however, and the disagreemeent of their two leaders Charette and Stofflet, rendered them but feeble allies. Charette had even agreed to treat with the republic, and a sort of pacification had been concluded between him and the convention at Jusnay.

The marquis de Puisaye, an enterprising but fickle man, who was better qualified for intrigue than for pursuing the hardy designs of partisan politics, formed the plan of substituting an insurrection in Brittany for the almost extinguished war of La Vendée. Several bands of Chouans, composed of the remnants of different factions, of enterprising adventurers, and of daring smugglers, already existed in the Morbihan; these bands attempted some expeditions, but were unable to keep possession of the country in the manner the Vendeans had done. Puisaye therefore, for the purpose of extending this new *Chouanerie*, made an application to the English government, and induced it to believe that if a small army, well supplied with ammunition and muskets, were landed, a general rising would take place in Brittany, and from

thence would probably spread over the rest of France.

The British ministry, disappointed in its hopes from a general coalition, wished nothing more than to involve the republic in new dangers, until such time as the courage of Europe should revive. In consequence of this representation therefore, it prepared an expedition, which was joined by the most enterprising emigrants, almost all the officers of the old marine, and all those persons who, weary of exile and the miseries of an unsettled life, were desirous of trying their fortune for the last time. Fifteen hundred emigrants and six thousand republican prisoners, who had enlisted themselves in this expedition, that they might get back to France, were landed from the English fleet on the peninsula of Quiberon, together with sixty thousand muskets and a complete equipment for forty thousand men. The troops which had disembarked, were joined by fifteen hundred Chouans, and were soon afterwards attacked by general Hoche, who succeeded in turning them: they were deserted by the enrolled prisoners, and after a most spirited resistance, forced to yield. In the war of extermination

between the republic and the emigrants, the vanquished were always treated as outlaws, and were butchered without mercy. This defeat inflicted a deep and incurable wound on the cause of the emigrants.

The royalists, whose hopes, founded first upon the victories of Europe, and afterwards upon the enterprise of the emigrants and the diffusion of the insurrection, had successively disappointed them, now resorted to the discontented sections. Their present design was to effect a counter-revolution by means of the new constitution, although it was the production of the moderate republican party; but, as it re-established the influence of the middle orders, they expected, through their means, to gain an easy admission into the legislative assembly and the government. This constitution, which was the result of six years' experience in revolution and legislation, was the best and wisest, the soundest and most liberal form of government which had yet been established or projected. The convention was at that time impressed with the necessity of organizing the powers of government, and of placing the people in a state of security; and in these points it differed essen-

tially from the first assembly, which, from its position, felt only the necessity of diminishing the influence of the throne, and of rousing the spirit of the nation. From royalty to the lowest order of society, every rank had been exhausted and broken up: it was now necessary to repair those injuries and to re-establish order, and at the same time to keep the nation in a state of constant and wholesome exercise. The new constitution did this. It departed little from that of 1791, as to the functions of the sovereign power, but it differed widely from it in all the details of government. The legislative power was lodged in two councils, called the *council of five hundred* and the *council of the ancients;* the executive power in a *directory,* consisting of five members. It re-established two degrees of election; in the primary one the electors of the deputies were chosen, and in the secondary the electors themselves, with a view of imposing a check upon popular commotions, and of producing a more enlightened choice than could be expected from direct elections. Wise but moderate qualifications, as to the property which members of the primary and electoral assemblies were required to possess,

were introduced, and again gave political importance to the middle order, whose influence it was highly desirable to re-establish, after the licentious reign of the multitude, and the abandonment of the constitution of 1793.

In order to prevent the despotism of a single assembly, it was deemed expedient that a power of preventing the enactment, or prohibiting the discussion, of laws, should be vested in some part of the government. The division of the legislative body into two councils, which had the same origin, the same duration, but different functions, answered the double end of not provoking the people by an aristocratical institution, and of contributing to the formation of a good government. The *council of five hundred*, the members of which were required to be thirty years of age, had the sole right of preparing and proposing laws: the *council of ancients*, composed of two hundred and fifty members, who had completed their fortieth year, that of adopting or rejecting them. In order to avoid precipitation in legislative measures, and to prevent the sanctuary of the council of ancients from being invaded in times of popular commotion, it was provided that it should not come to a

decision until after three readings, appointed at least five days from each other. In *urgent cases* however, this formality might be dispensed with, but the council itself was the sole judge of the urgency. This council at one time acted as a *legislative* power, when it did not entirely approve of a measure, and applied to the bill the form—*The council of ancients cannot adopt this measure.* At other times, it acted as a *conservative* power, when it only considered the bill in its legal relation, and said—*It is inconsistent with the constitution.* They adopted, for the first time, partial elections. It was fixed that, every two years, one half only of the members of the council should vacate their seats, in order to avoid the evil of filling the assembly with a body of entirely new members, who would naturally be animated with a zeal for novel measures, and would thus entirely change the spirit of the council.

The executive power, which had ceased to be exercised by the committees, was now taken out of the hands of the councils. They still retained too great a horror of monarchy to appoint a president of the republic; they contented themselves, therefore, with creating a *directory*, composed of five members, selected by the council of ancients, from a list

named by the five hundred. The councils had the power of putting the directors upon their trial, but not of revoking their appointment. The constitution invested them with a general and independent executive power, but it provided against the abuse of it, and took especial care that they should not exercise their authority so long as to lead to usurpation. They were entrusted with the direction of the military power and of the finances, with the nomination of functionaries, and the conduct of negociations; but they could do nothing but by their ministers and generals, for whose conduct they were responsible. They were to exercise the office of president, by turns, for the space of three months, and one of them was every year to vacate his seat, and a new member was to be elected in his stead. The president had the custody of the seals, and the power of signing, as the head of the government. The prerogatives of the royalty of 1791 were thus divided between the council of ancients, who had the veto, and the directory, who had the executive power. To the latter also was assigned a guard, a national palace (the Luxembourg) for its residence, and a species of civil list for its support. The council of ancients, the

office of which was to control any improper measures which might be proposed by the legislative power, was also entrusted with the means of repressing the usurpations of the directory: it had the power of changing the residences of the councils, and the seat of government.

The precautions of this constitution were infinite: it anticipated popular violence and the encroachments of power, and provided for all those dangers which had distinguished the different periods of the revolution. If any constitution could have been firmly established at this time, it was most assuredly the directorial one. It communicated new energy to the government and liberty to the people, and held out the promise of peace to all parties, if they would but have remained contented with their proper stations in the government, without recurring to the past, or looking forward to exclusive dominion. But its duration was as brief as that of the others which had preceded it; for it was unable to establish the authority of law against the wishes of the different factions, all of whom aspired to the government, and sought to establish their own system, and promote

their own interests; so that, instead of returning to the peaceful reign of the law, they fell back into that of force and political manœuvres. For when parties have no desire to terminate a revolution (and men who are not in power never have), it is quite impossible that any constitution, however good it may be, can ever be established.

The members of the commission of *eleven*, whose sole function, before the events of prairial, was that of preparing the laws of the constitution of 1793, and who afterwards established the constitution of the year 3, was at the head of the conventional party. This party belonged neither to the old Gironde nor to the old Mountain; it had remained neuter until the 31st May, and in subjection from that time until the 27th July [9th thermidor]: since this period it had, solely owing to the double defeat of the Girondists and Mountainists, which left it the strongest party, obtained the possession of power. It was now joined by men of opposite factions, who had already commenced the work of division in their parties. Merlin (of Douai) represented those who had yielded to circumstances; Thibaudeau, those who had remained

inactive; and Daunou those who had continued firm in their principles. The latter, who wished for the consolidation of the conventional government, free from violence or the interference of parties, had, since the opening of the assembly, declared himself opposed to all political manœuvres whatever, both against the 21st January and the 31st May. He censured the animosity which was, after the 27th July, displayed against the chiefs of the revolutionary government, of which he had himself, as one of the *seventy-three*, been a victim. As the nation advanced towards a state of order, he had obtained considerable influence. Indeed, his enlightened attachment to the revolution, his noble independence, his unshaken constancy, and the soundness and comprehensiveness of his mind, rendered him one of the most influential men of his age. He was the principal author of the constitution of the year 3, and was entrusted by the convention, in conjunction with some other of its members, with the defence of the republic in the important crisis of *vendemiaire*.

The re-action increased more and more: it was indirectly promoted by the members of

the *right*, who had, from the commencement of this assembly, been republicans by mere accident. They were not disposed to repel the attacks of the royalists with the same energy as they had done those of the revolutionists. Of this number were Boissy-d'Anglas, Lanjuinais, Henri-Larivière, Saladin, Aubry, &c. who formed in the assembly the nucleus of the sectionary party. Some of the old and violent Mountainists, such as Rovère, Bourdon de l'Oise, &c. carried away by the tendency of the nation to counter-revolution, permitted the re-action to take its course; a conduct which they no doubt pursued in order to make their peace with the party whom they had so violently opposed.

But the conventional party, supported by the democrats, exerted their utmost efforts to prevent the triumph of the royalists. They saw that the safety of the republic depended on the manner in which the councils were formed, and that as the members would be chosen by the middle order, which was under the direction of the royalist chiefs, those bodies would have a tendency to counter-revolution. They deemed it of consequence, therefore, that the preservation of the govern-

ment they were about to establish should be confided to persons who were interested in defending it. In order to avoid the error which the constituent assembly had fallen into, by excluding itself from the succeeding legislative assembly, the convention passed a decree that two-thirds of its members might be re-elected. By this means, it secured a majority in the councils and the nomination of the directory, and was thus enabled to act as a pilot to its own constitution, and to consolidate it without any violent commotion. The decree for the re-election of the *two-thirds* was not quite legal, but it was politic, and was the only course by which France could be saved from the dominion of the democrats or the counter-revolutionists. By the decrees of the 22nd and 30th August [5th and 13th fructidor], the first establishing this re-election, and the other the mode of carrying it into effect, the convention obtained a sort of moderating dictatorship. These two exceptionable decrees were however submitted to the primary assemblies, at the same time as the act for the establishment of the constitution.

They were a surprise on the royalist party, which entertained hopes of gaining admission

into the councils, by means of the elections; and through the councils into the administration; and, when it had thus obtained possession of power, of effecting a change in the system of government. An alliance was formed between the royalist committee of Paris (whose agent was the celebrated Lemaitre), the journals, and the leaders of the sections. They did not find much difficulty in gaining the support of popular opinion, of which they assumed to be the sole organs. They accused the convention of a design to render its power perpetual, and of aspiring to the sovereignty of the people; and in such accusations, the principal supporters of the re-election of the *two-thirds*, Louvet, Daunou, and Chénier, were by no means spared. The usual preparations for a great commotion were made; the faubourg St. Germain, which had lately been totally deserted, now became every day more populous; the emigrants arrived in shoals, and the conspirators, scarcely thinking it necessary to disguise their schemes, adopted the uniform of the Chouans.

The convention, perceiving the storm to be gathering, now sought assistance and support

from the army, which then constituted the great republican class, and whose camp was pitched under the walls of Paris. The multitude had been disorganized, and the citizens gained over by the royalists. In the meantime, the primary assemblies were convoked on the 6th September [20th fructidor], in order to deliberate on the act for the establishment of the constitution and the decrees relative to the re-election of the *two-thirds*, which were to be adopted or rejected together. On the motion of the section Lepelletier (formerly *Filles St. Thomas)*, which was the rallying point of all the others, it was decided *that the power of the constituent assembly ceased in the presence of the people.* This section, under the direction of Richer-Serisy, Laharpe, Lacretelle the younger, Vaublanc, &c. formed an insurrectional government, under the name of the *central committee;* a body which obtained the same sort of triumph against the convention in *vendemiaire*, as the committee of the 10th August had against the throne, and as the faction of the 31st May had against the Girondists. This measure was adopted by a majority of the sections, but was annulled by the decree of the convention, which was

in its turn annulled by a majority of the sections. The contest immediately became general, and in Paris they distinguished between the act for the establishment of the constitution, which they were disposed to adopt, from the decree of re-election, which they determined to reject.

The convention announced on the 22nd September [1st vendémiaire], that the decrees had been ratified by the greatest number of primary assemblies in France. The sections again assembled for the purpose of naming the electors, who were entitled to choose the members of the legislature. On the 2nd October [10th vendémiaire], they came to a determination that the electors should be convoked at the Théatre-Français (which was then over the bridges), and that the armed force of the sections, after swearing to defend them at the risk of their lives, should escort them to the place of meeting. The electors, of whom the duke de Nivernois was appointed president, in fact met the next day under the protection of a few detachments of light troops and grenadiers.

The convention, being apprised of the danger, immediately declared itself permanent,

summoned the camp of Sablons to its defence, and appointed a committee of five members, with power to adopt every necessary measure for the public safety. These members were Colombel, Barras, Daunou, Letourneur, and Merlin de Douai. The revolutionists had for some time past ceased to be feared, and those who had been imprisoned for the events of May [prairial] had, in consequence, been released. From fifteen to eighteen hundred, who had been prosecuted either at Paris or in the departments, were enrolled under the name of the *battalion of the patriots of* 89. On the evening of the 3rd October, the convention directed the assembly of the electors to be dissolved by force, but they had already separated, having adjourned until the following day.

The decree for dissolving the assembly of electors and arming the *patriots of* 89, caused that night the greatest agitation: the *generale* was sounded; and the section Lepelletier, which was loud in its clamours against the despotism of the convention and the return of *terror,* was engaged the whole of the next day (the 4th) in preparing the other sections for battle. In the evening, the convention,

which was in the same state of agitation as the sections, came to a determination to strike the first blow, to surround and disarm the conspirators, and thus put an end to the contest. This enterprise was confided to Menou, general of the interior, and Laporte, one of the representatives. The head quarters of the sectionaries was at the convent Filles St. Thomas, in front of which they had placed seven or eight hundred men in order of battle. The insurgents were surrounded by superior forces, which occupied the boulevards on their flank, and the street Vivienne in their front. But the leaders of the expedition, instead of disarming, entered into a parley with them. The result was an agreement that both sides should quit the field and disperse; but scarcely had the conventional troops disappeared, when the sectionaries returned in full force. This manœuvre produced the same effect as a real victory, and was as usual exaggerated in Paris. The consequence was, that it raised the hopes and increased the number of their partisans, and inspired them with courage to attack the convention the next day.

The latter was informed, at eleven o'clock at night, of the issue of the expedition, and of

the alarming effect it had produced. Menou was instantly removed, and the command of the military force transferred to Barras, who had filled the same office on the 27th July. A young officer who had distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon, and who had been cashiered by the re-actionist Aubry, was, at the request of Barras, appointed by the committee his second in command. He was a man of skill and resolution, and well qualified for the post at so dangerous a crisis. This young officer was Bonaparte: he appeared before the committee, but displayed none of those astonishing qualities which distinguished his subsequent conduct. Little of a party man, and summoned for the first time upon this great scene, his countenance wore an expression of timidity and bashfulness, which disappeared in the bustle of preparation and the ardour of battle. He sent in haste for the artillery of the camp of Sablons, which, with five thousand men of the conventional army, he disposed at all those points where an attack was to be apprehended. Towards noon on the 5th October [13th vendémiaire] the seat of the convention presented the appearance of a fortified place, which could only

be taken by assault. On the left of the Tuileries, the line of defence extended from Pont-Neuf, along the river, to the bridge of Louis XV: on the right, into all the small streets which run into the street St. Honoré, from the streets Rohan, Echelle, and Cul-de-sac Dauphin, as far as the street Revolution. In front, the Louvre, the garden de l'Infante, and the Carousal, were lined with cannon; and behind, Pont-Tournant and the Place de la Revolution, which were protected in the same manner, formed a park of reserve. Thus prepared, the convention awaited the arrival of the insurgents.

The latter, who had about forty thousand men under arms, commanded by generals Danican, Duhoux, Lafond, (who had formerly belonged to the life-guards), very soon surrounded the convention. Thirty-two, a large majority of the sections, had furnished their military contingent. Amongst the remaining sixteen, many sections of the faubourgs had enrolled their troops in the battalion of 89. Some of them sent reinforcements during the action, as those of *Quinze-Vingts* and *Montreuil;* others, who were desirous, were unable to do so, as that of *Popincourt;* and others, again, remained neuter, as that of

Indivisibilité. Between two and three o'clock, Carteaux, who had occupied Pont-Neuf with four hundred men and two four-pounders, was surrounded by several columns of the sectionaries, and compelled to fall back on the Louvre. The insurgents, who were strong at every point, were emboldened by this advantage. General Danican summoned the convention to withdraw its troops, and disarm the *terrorists*. The messenger, who was introduced into the assembly blindfold, occasioned, at first, some disturbance in it by his mission; and many of the members declared themselves in favour of conciliatory measures. Boissy-d'Anglas proposed a conference with Danican; and Gamon a proclamation, promising to disarm the *battalion of* 89, if the citizens would retire. These motions excited the strongest disapprobation. Chénier rushed to the tribune; "I am astonished," said he, "that you condescend to discuss the demands of sections in revolt. We can have no negociation with them; for the national convention there can be nothing but death or victory!" Lanjuinais attempted to support the motion, by describing the dangers and miseries of civil war, but the convention would

not listen to him, and, upon the motion of Fermond, passed to the order of the day. The debate as to peace or war with the sections was carried on however for some time longer, and was not finished, when, about half past four o'clock, the report of several discharges of musketry put an end to the discussion. Seven hundred muskets were brought into the convention, and the members armed themselves as a body of reserve.

The battle commenced in the street St. Honoré, of which the insurgents were masters, and the first discharge, from the hotel de Noailles. A destructive fire was kept up along the whole of this line; and a few minutes afterwards, two columns of sectionaries belonging to the other flank, and about four thousand strong, commanded by count Maulevrier, attacked the Pont-Royal from the quays. The battle then became general; but, as the place was too formidably defended to be taken by assault, it could not continue long. After an hour's fighting, the sectionaries were dislodged from St. Roch and the street St. Honoré by the cannon of the convention and the battalion of the patriots. The troops which were employed in the attack of the Pont-Royal,

were exposed, both in front and transversely, to three discharges of artillery from the bridge and the quays, which first threw them into disorder, and finally put them completely to flight. The troops of the convention were now everywhere victorious; at seven o'clock they began to act on the defensive, and at nine had succeeded in dislodging the sectionaries from the Théatre de la République, and the post which they still occupied in the neighbourhood of the Palais Royal. The insurgents attempted during the night to erect barricades across the streets, and in order to impede the progress of the works, many vollies were fired from the street de la Loi (Richelieu). The next day, the 6th October, the section Lepelletier was disarmed, and the rest reduced to submission.

The convention, which had only engaged in the contest in its own defence, displayed a great deal of moderation in its conduct towards the vanquished party. The insurrection of the 5th October was, in effect, similar to the affair of the royalists against the republic, with this difference, that the convention resisted the citizens much more successfully than the throne the faubourgs. The state of the public mind at this time contributed in no small de-

gree to this victory; the nation now wished for a republic without a revolutionary administration, a moderate system of government without counter-revolution. The convention was a moderating power, equally hostile to the exclusive domination of the mob, which it had repulsed in May [prairial], and to the reacting domination of the citizens, whom it repulsed in October. On this account it appeared alone capable of satisfying the wishes of the nation, and of putting an end to the war of faction, which was kept alive by the alternate transition to power of the different parties. From the position, therefore, which the convention occupied in public opinion, together with its own danger, it derived the courage to resist, and the confident assurance of victory. The sections were unable to surprise, and still more unable to take it by assault.

After these events, the convention prepared to fill up the councils and the directory. The one-third, which was freely elected by the people, had been chosen under an impression that the individuals who composed it were re-actionists. Some members of the conventional party therefore proposed to annul the election of this *third*, and to suspend the ope-

ration of the constitutional government for some time longer. Thibaudeau ridiculed this proposal with much courage and eloquence, and his opinion was adopted by the whole of the conventional party. He deprecated all unnecessary despotism, and manifested great impatience to be freed from a provisional government which had lasted three years. The convention resolved itself into a *national electoral assembly*, for the purpose of filling up the *two-thirds* from its body. It then formed the councils: that of *the ancients*, of two hundred and fifty members who, according to the provisions of the new law, had attained their fortieth year; and that of *the five hundred*, out of the remainder of the assembly. The councils appointed the Tuileries for the place of meeting. Then came the question as to forming the executive part of the government.

The republican party, apprehensive, from the recent attack of October, of a counter-revolution, determined to choose the directors from the constitutional party only; and, moreover, from those who had voted for the death of the king. Some of the most influential members, amongst whom was Daunou, op-

posed this plan, on the ground of its confining their choice, and continuing the dictatorial and revolutionary character of the government; but it was adopted. The members thus chosen were Laréveillère-Lépaux, whose probity, moderation, and courageous conduct on the 31st May had gained him universal confidence; Sièyes, the man of greatest reputation in his time; Rewbell, a person of great activity in the administrative department of the state; Letourneur, a member of the committee of five in the last crisis; and Barras, who was chosen in consequence of his success in July and October [thermidor and vendemiaire]. Sièyes, who had no desire to form a part of the legislative commission of eleven, now declined to make one of the directory. Whether his refusal arose from calculation, or an insurmountable antipathy to Rewball, is not known. The vacancy was supplied by Carnot, the only member of the old committee whom, on account of his political honesty and the share he had in the triumphs of the revolution, they could have appointed. Such were the first members of the directory. The convention, on the 26th

October [4th brumaire], passed an act of oblivion, as a commencement of the government of the law; changed the name of the *place de la Revolution* to that of *place de la Concorde*, and declared its session at an end.

The convention sat three years, from the 21st September 1792, to the 26th October 1794 [4th brumaire, in the year 4]. It was moved in various directions, according to the state of the parties. For the first six months of its existence it was involved in the struggle between the *legal* party of the Gironde, and the revolutionary party of the Mountain; the latter of which prevailed from the 31st May 1793, to the 27th July 1794 [9th thermidor, in the year 2]. The convention was then governed by the committee of public safety, which first ruined its old allies of the commune and the Mountain, and afterwards perished by its own divisions. But from the 27th July to the month of October 1795, the convention kept the revolutionary and royalist parties in subjection, and endeavoured to establish a moderate republic in spite of both.

During this long and frightful period, the violence of the different factions converted the

revolution into a war, and the house of assembly into a field of battle. Each party struggled for victory in order to obtain the ascendancy, and endeavoured to effect the establishment of its own system in order to secure it. The Girondist party tried—and perished; the party of Robespierre tried—and perished. They obtained victories, but they could not establish their systems. The ruin of every party who attempted to return to peace and order was the natural consequence of such a state of affairs. Everything was provisional; both power, and men, and parties, and systems; because one thing, and one thing only was possible, and that thing was war. A whole year from the time it had regained its authority, was necessary to enable the convention to restore the nation to the dominion of the law; an object, which it could only effect by means of the two victories of May and October. The convention had now returned to the point from which it started, having accomplished its real design, which was to protect, and finally consolidate, the republic. After having astonished the world, it disappeared from the scene: a revolutionary power, it began to exercise its

functions the instant that order and the authority of the law ceased, and it terminated its career the instant that order and the authority of the law returned. Three years of dictatorship had been lost to liberty, but not to the revolution.

THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY.

CHAPTER XII.

Review of the revolution.—Its second character; transition of the people from a public to a private life.—The five directors; their labours in relation to the interior.—Pacification of La Vendée.—Babœuf's conspiracy; last defeat of the democratic party.—Plan of campaign against Austria.—Conquest of Italy by general Bonaparte.—Treaty of Campo Formio.—The French republic is acknowledged, and allowed to retain its acquisitions, the Batavian, Lombard, and Ligurian republic, which continue its system in Europe.—Royalist elections of the year 5; they change the position of the republic.—New struggle between the counter-revolutionary party reigning in the councils, in the club of Clichy, and in the *salons*, and the conventional party ruling in the directory, in the club of Salm, and in the army.—Measure of the 4th September [18th fructidor].—The October party is once more beaten.

THE French revolution, which had destroyed the ancient system of government and entirely overturned the ancient state of society, had two distinct aims,—a free constitution,

and an increased civilization. The six years of which we have taken a survey, were passed in search of a government; and during that time each of the great classes, of which the French nation was composed, attempted the establishment of its own peculiar system. The privileged class endeavoured to establish theirs against the court and the citizens, by retaining the distinction of orders and the states-general; the citizens, to establish theirs against the privileged class and the multitude, by the code of 1791; and the multitude theirs against the rest of the nation, by the constitution of 1793. None of these governments, however, could be consolidated, because they were of an exclusive character; but whilst they were in operation, each class, as it obtained a temporary superiority, destroyed whatever was intolerant, and whatever was calculated to retard the march of civilization in the classes above it.

When the directory succeeded the convention, the contest between the classes had become much less violent. The most considerable persons in each of them, however, formed a party, which still struggled for the possession of power and the establishment of

its own form of government; but the mass of the population, which had been so profoundly shaken from 1789 to 1795, longed for repose, and was ready to conform to the new order of things. It was at this period that the movement towards liberty ended, and that towards civilization begun; and the revolution, after the troubles and commotions attending the first years of its existence, and the total destruction of its immense labours, now assumed its second character; a character of order, of solidity, and repose.

This second period was remarkable on this account, that it seemed as if the nation had in some measure abandoned all idea of liberty. Parties being no longer able to enjoy it in a lasting and exclusive manner, grew discouraged, and retired from a public to a private life. This second period may be divided into two epochs; it was liberal under the directory and at the commencement of the consulate, and military at the end of the consulate and under the empire. The revolution now became every day more consolidated; after having produced a nation of partisans, it produced a nation of labourers, and then a nation of soldiers.

Many illusions were already destroyed; the people had passed through so many different states, and lived so long in so few years, that all ideas were confounded, and all creeds shaken. The reign of the middle order and that of the multitude had both passed away like a fleeting phantasmagoria. They were now far removed from the France of the 14th July, with its deep convictions, its great morality, its assembly exercising the omnipotence of reason and liberty, its popular majesty and its civic guard;—from that France, which, to the eyes of the world, presented an aspect at once animated, brilliant, peaceable, and independent. They were far removed too from the more gloomy and stormy France of the 10th August, when a single class directed both the government and the nation, which it imbued with its language, its manners, its costume, its fanatical ideas, its fears, and its jealousies. Private life was at that time forsaken for the busy scenes of public life; the nation exhibited by turns the aspect of an assembly and a camp; it shewed the rich in subjection to the poor, and the creeds of democracy mingled with the gloomy and ragged administration of the

people. At each of these epochs the people had been strongly attached to some prevailing idea: at first, it was liberty and constitutional monarchy; and at last, equality, fraternity, and the republic. But at the commencement of the directory they had no political creeds of any kind, and in the grand wreck of parties the virtue of the middle and of the lower orders was alike lost.

They issued from this violent tempest in a state of total exhaustion; and regarding political life with horror, they plunged without restraint into pleasures, and renewed the long-suspended intercourse of social life. Balls, feasts, sumptuous equipages, excesses returned, and were more in fashion than they had ever been: this was the re-action of the habits of the old regime. The reign of the *sans-culottes* brought back the domination of the rich; and the clubs, the return of the *salons*. Indeed it was almost impossible that the first return of civilization should not lead to excess. The directorial manners were the offspring of a different state of society, which was destined to appear before the new society could establish its relations, and form its manners. In the present change, luxury

naturally produced labour; stock-jobbing, commerce; the *salons*, the social intercourse of parties who could only tolerate each other in private life; and finally, civilization was calculated to ensure the return of liberty.

When the directory were appointed, the situation of the country was sufficiently discouraging. None of the materials necessary for the establishment of order, and the operations of the administration, then existed; the public treasury was exhausted, and the couriers were often detained from want of the small sum required for their journey. At home, anarchy and distress everywhere prevailed; paper money, the issues and credit of which were alike exhausted, destroyed all commerce, and every kind of confidence; famine appeared, for every one refused to sell his commodities, because it would in fact have been to give them away; and, in addition to these distresses, the arsenals were empty. Abroad, the armies were unprovided with waggons, horses, or provisions; the soldiers were destitute of clothes, and the generals frequently in want of that part of their pay which was in cash, amounting to eight francs a day, a

very moderate but indispensable addition to their pay in assignats. And lastly, the troops, whose wants had rendered them discontented, and impaired their discipline, had again been defeated, and were acting on the defensive.

Such was the distressing situation of the country after the fall of the committee of public safety, which had during its reign provided against scarcity both in the army and in the interior, by means of requisitions and the *maximum*. No person could escape this financial regulation, by which the mercantile and the wealthy classes were rendered tributary to the soldiers and the mob. During that period, therefore, the necessaries of life were not uselessly hoarded in warehouses. But since, when an end was put to violence and confiscation, the people, the convention, and the armies had been at the mercy of proprietors and speculators: the consequence was, a frightful degree of poverty—the reaction of the *maximum*. The conventional system of political economy consisted in the distribution of an immense capital, which was represented by assignats. This government had been rich, but it ruined itself in the

defence of the revolution. Nearly one half of the French territory, consisting of demesnes of the crown, estates of the dignified clergy and the emigrant nobility, had been sold, and the proceeds applied to the maintenance of the people, who worked but little, and to the defence of the country. More than eight thousand millions of francs had been issued before the 27th July [9 thermidor], and, since that time, thirty thousand millions had been added to that already enormous sum. Such a system could no longer be continued; it was necessary to recommence their labours, and to return to cash payments.

The men selected to remedy so great a disorder were, for the most part, persons of ordinary capacities, but they applied themselves to their task with earnestness, courage, and good sense. "When the directors," says M. Bailleul,* "entered the Luxembourg, there was not a piece of furniture in it. They procured a small wood table, one of the feet of which was destroyed by age, upon which they deposited a bundle of letter paper and a

* "Examen Critique des Considerations de Madame de Staël sur la Revolution Française." Par M. J. Ch. Bailleul, Ancien Deputé, tom. ii. p. 275 et 281.

writing desk, which, fortunately, they had taken the precaution to bring from the committee of public safety. Who would believe that in a closet, seated upon four straw chairs round this table, in front of some half-kindled billets of wood (the whole borrowed from the housekeeper, Dupont) the members of the new government, after having examined all the difficulties, nay, I would say, horrors of their situation, determined boldly to meet every obstacle, and to rescue France from the abyss in which she was plunged, or perish. They drew out upon a sheet of letter paper the act by which they declared they had entered upon their functions, an act which they immediately addressed to the legislative assemblies."

The directors afterwards appointed the several portions of the government amongst themselves, in doing which they were guided by the motives which had influenced the convention in selecting them. To Rewbell, a person of very great activity, a lawyer, well skilled in the administration of affairs and in diplomacy, they allotted the departments of justice, the finances, and foreign relations; and, by his skill or his imperious character,

he soon became the civil operator-general of the directory. Barras possessed no particular kind of knowledge, had but a moderate head, was without resources, and of indolent habits: but in the hour of danger, he was qualified by his resolution for the accomplishment of a bold measure, like that of July or October; in ordinary times, only for keeping a watch over the motions of parties, whose intrigues he was more skilful in detecting than any other man,—to him was entrusted the police. This office was the more adapted for him, because he was pliant, insinuating, and without attachment to any particular sect, and because, whilst his birth brought him in contact with the aristocracy, his conduct had obtained him revolutionary connections. Barras also took upon himself the character of representative of the directory, and established at the Luxembourg a sort of republican regency. The honest, the moderate La Réveillère, whose mildness, joined with his courage, and whose sincere attachment to the republic and to legal measures, had raised him to the directory by the unanimous voice of the assembly and of public opinion, had the direction of the moral department, education, sciences,

arts, manufactures, &c. Letourneur, an old officer of artillery, and a member of the committee of public safety in the last days of the convention, had been designed for the war-department; but Carnot was no sooner elected on the refusal of Sièyes, than he assumed the conduct of military affairs, leaving those of the marine and the colonies to his colleague. The great capacity and resolute character of Carnot, obtained him the lead in this party. Letourneur attached himself to him, as La Réveillère did to Rewbell; and Barras took his position between them. The directors were at this time occupied with the greatest unanimity in the reparation of the state, and the promotion of its prosperity.

They pursued the course pointed out by the constitution with great freedom. After having completed the distribution of power in the highest branch of government, they organized it in the departments, and established, as far as they could, a correspondence of design between the inferior administration and their own. Placed between the two discontented and exclusive factions of May and October [prairial and vendemiaire], they endeavoured, by a decisive line of conduct, to subject them

to an order of things between their extreme pretensions. They attempted to recal the enthusiasm and unanimity of the first years of the revolution. "You," they wrote to their agents, "whom we call to participate in our labours, you, whose duty it is, in conjunction with ourselves, to put the republican constitution in operation, your first feeling, your chief virtue, should be that decided wish, that patriotic faith, which has produced its happy enthusiasts, and performed its miracles. All that we wish will be accomplished when, by your care, that sincere love of liberty which sanctified the first dawn of the revolution, shall once more re-animate the heart of every Frenchman. Surely it is a highly interesting spectacle to see the banners of liberty waving over every house, the republican motto written over every door,—'Go on!' hasten the day when the sacred name of the republic shall be voluntarily engraven on every heart."

In a short time the wise and firm conduct of the new government re-established confidence, industry, commerce, and plenty. The circulation of the necessaries of life was again secured, and at the end of a month the

directory gave up the superintendance of provisioning Paris, which was thenceforward carried on without assistance from government. The immense activity created by the revolution began to incline towards industry and agriculture. Part of the population left the clubs and public *places* for their workshops, or the fields. The nation now felt the benefits of a revolution, which, having destroyed corporations, partitioned overgrown estates, abolished privileges, and quadrupled the means of civilization, was calculated to add prodigiously and rapidly to the prosperity of France. The directory encouraged this tendency to industry, by establishing public exhibitions of industry, and completing the system of instruction decreed by the convention. The national institute, the primary, central and normal schools, formed a collection of republican institutions. The director La Réveillère, entrusted with the moral part of government, was next desirous of introducing under the name of *theophilanthropy*, a form of deistical worship, which the committee of public safety had ineffectually attempted to establish by the *festival of the Supreme Being*. He provided temples for it, hymns, formulas,

and a sort of liturgy; but such a creed could not long continue general, it could only be individual. The *theophilanthropists* became the objects of ridicule; for their worship opposed both the opinions of the Catholics, and the unbelief of the revolutionists. Thus, in the transition from public institutions to individual creeds, liberty was converted into civilization, and worship into opinion. The deists remained, but the *theophilanthropists* were no more.

The directory, pressed by its pecuniary necessities, and the disastrous state of its finances, still resorted to measures of an extraordinary kind. It had sold or mortgaged the most valuable effects of the wardrobe, to supply the most urgent wants of government. The national lands still remained, but they sold badly, and were paid for in assignats. The directory proposed, and the councils decreed, a forced loan. This was one of the revolutionary measures against the wealthy; but having been decreed as an experiment only, and being carried on without the support of authority, it did not succeed. The directory next tried to renew the system of paper-money in the shape of territorial notes

[mandats territoriaux], by means of which it was intended to withdraw the assignats from circulation, at the rate of thirty for one, and they were to circulate as money. An issue of territorial notes, to the extent of two thousand four hundred millions of francs, was decreed by the councils. They possessed this advantage, that they might be changed immediately on presentation for the national domains which they represented, and a great portion of which were by this means sold. In this manner was completed the revolutionary cycle of assignats, of which they formed the second period. They procured the directory a momentary supply, but they, in turn, also lost their credit, and insensibly led the way to bankruptcy, which was the transition from paper to cash payments.

The military situation of the republic was not brilliant; its victories had diminished at the close of the convention; and the equivocal position and weakness of the chief authority, joined with its poverty, had produced a relaxation in the discipline of the troops. Besides, the generals disappointed at having signalized their command with so few victories, and at not having the support

of an energetic government, began to incline to insubordination. The convention had directed Pichegru and Jourdan, the one at the head of the army of the Rhine, and the other of the Sambre and Meuse, to surround and make themselves masters of Mayence, in order that they might by that means occupy the whole line of the Rhine. This scheme entirely failed, through the misconduct of Pichegru. Although invested with the full confidence of the republic, and justly enjoying the greatest military reputation of that period, he entered into counter-revolutionary plots with the prince of Condé; but they were unable to come to a right understanding with each other. Pichegru invited the emigrant prince to enter France by Switzerland, or by the Rhine, promising that he would remain passive, the only thing which depended upon himself. The prince, on the other hand, required that Pichegru should, as a preliminary step, hoist the white flag in his army, which was entirely republican. This hesitation no doubt injured the cause of the reactionists, who now began to prepare the conspiracy of October [vendemiaire]. Pichegru, however, having determined in one way

or other to serve his new allies and betray his country, allowed himself to be beaten at Heidelberg, compromised the army of Jourdan, evacuated Manheim, raised the siege of Mayence with considerable loss, and exposed this frontier.

When the directory entered upon their office, the frontier on the Mayence side of the Rhine was exposed, the war in La Vendée re-kindled, the coasts of France and Holland threatened with a descent by the English, and the army of Italy, which was destitute of every necessary, sustained with difficulty a defensive warfare under Shérer and Kellermann. Carnot projected a new plan for the next campaign, which should carry the arms of the republic into the very heart of the hostile states. Bonaparte, who had been made general of the interior, after the insurrection of October, was now appointed to the command of the army of Italy. Jourdan was continued at the head of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, and Moreau was chosen to succeed Pichegru in the command of the army of the Rhine. An offer was made to the latter, whose treason, though not proved, was strongly suspected by the di-

rectory, to appoint him ambassador to the court of Sweden, but the offer was refused, that he might retire to Ambois, his native place. It was arranged that the great armies, under the command of Bonaparte, Jourdan, and Moreau, should attack the Austrian territories by way of Italy and Germany, should join at the passage of the Tyrol, and by degrees march upon Vienna. This great movement, the success of which would render the republic mistress of the chief seat of the coalition on the continent, the generals prepared to execute.

The command of the coast was given to general Hoche, with instructions to bring the war in La Vendée to a close. Hoche changed the system of war which had been pursued by his predecessors. La Vendée was, in fact, now inclined to submission; its early victories had not been followed by the triumph of its cause, and its subsequent defeats and ill luck had exposed it to the ravages of fire and sword. The insurgents, irrecoverably subdued by the disaster of Savernay, by the loss of their principal officers and their best soldiers, joined with the destructive system of the *infernal columns*, no longer asked for any-

thing but peace with the republic. The war was only maintained by a few of the chiefs, such as Charette, Stofflet, &c. Hoche perceived the necessity of first detaching the mass of the population from their leaders by concessions, a plan which would enable him completely to subdue them. He skilfully separated the royalist cause from that of religion, and, by affecting great indulgence to the catholic form of worship, he gained over the priests, of whom he availed himself against the generals. He scoured the country with four strong bodies of troops, carried off the cattle of the inhabitants, and only restored them at the price of their arms; he defeated Charette in many encounters, pursued him from retreat to retreat, and at length got him into his hands. Stofflett, who attempted to raise the Vendean standard on his own domains, was delivered up to the republicans. These two leaders, who had been engaged in the insurrection at its commencement, supported the cause to the last. They died with courage, Stofflet at Angers, and Charette at Nantes, having each of them developed a character and talents worthy of a more extended theatre.

Hoche was no less successful in establishing peace in Brittany. Numerous bands of *Chouans,* forming a powerful association, at the head of which was Georges Cadoudal, were collected in the Morbihan ; these bands, although they did not occupy the country in a military manner, still remained masters of it. Hoche directed all his energy and activity against them, and in a short time succeeded in either wearing out or destroying them all. The majority of the leaders laid down their arms and sought refuge in England. The directory, on learning these happy events, announced on the 16th July 1796 [28 messidor] to the two councils, that the civil war was at length brought to a close.

Thus passed the winter of the year 4. It was with some difficulty however that the directory could be protected from the attacks of the two parties, the democrats and the royalists, whose ascendancy its existence was the means of preventing. The former, an inflexible and enterprising faction, to whom the 27th July [9 thermidor] was a source of trouble and oppression, were continually attempting to establish absolute equality in spite of the state of society, and democratic

liberty in spite of the increased degree of civilization. But they had been so effectually subdued, that there was no chance of their ever again obtaining the possession of power. Ejected from the government on the 27th July, and driven out of society on the 21st May [2 prairial], it had lost its authority and its insurrections. But, though disorganized and proscribed, it was far from having disappeared; and, after the unfortunate attempts of the royalists in October, it once more rose from its state of depression.

The democrats re-established their club at the Pantheon, and it was for some time toerated by the directory. Its leader was Gracchus Babœuf, by himself called the *tribune of the people*, a bold man, of an excited imagination, and fanatically attached to an extraordinary kind of democracy. This man, who possessed great power over his party, prepared it, by his journal, for the reign of *general happiness*. The society of the Pantheon became daily more numerous and more alarming to the directory, which at first endeavoured to restrain it within bounds, but its sittings were in a short time prolonged to a late hour. The democrats at length repaired

thither in arms, and projected an expedition against the directory and the councils. The directory then determined upon making an open attack against them, and, accordingly, on the 26th February 1796 [8 ventose, in the year 4], it closed the society of the Pantheon, and on the following day sent a message to the councils, apprising them of the measure it had adopted.

Deprived of their place of meeting, the democrats resorted to other expedients: they seduced the *legion of police*, a body composed in a great measure of revolutionists out of place, and in concert with it they proposed to destroy the constitution of the year 3. Informed of this new manœuvre, the directory disbanded, and by means of the other troops, of whose fidelity it was secure, disarmed the legion of police. The conspirators, taken a second time by surprise, resolved upon a plan of insurrection and attack; they appointed an *insurrectionary committee of public safety*, which established communications with the lower order of the twelve communes of Paris. The members of the committee were Babœuf, the head of the plot, several persons who had belonged to the conventional party, such as

Vadier, Amar, Choudieu, Ricord, and Drouet the representative, and the generals of the decemviral committee, Rossignol, Parrein, Fyon, and Lami. The army of this faction was composed of unemployed officers, the patriots of the departments, and the bulk of the old Jacobins. The leaders frequently assembled in a place which they denominated the *Temple of Reason,* where they chaunted elegies on the death of Robespierre, and lamented over the *slavery of the people.* They had communications with the camp at Grenelle, and received amongst them a captain belonging to it, named Grisel.

They now prepared everything for the attack: they agreed to establish *general happiness;* and, for that purpose, to make a distribution of property; to institute a government of *true, pure, and absolute democrats;* to form a convention, consisting of sixty-eight Mountainists, the remnant of the faction proscribed after the re-action of July, together with a democrat from each department; and, lastly, to unite from the several points where they were distributed, and immediately march against the directory and the councils. On the night of the intended insurrection, they

were to post up two placards, one containing these words, "Constitution of 1793, Liberty, Equality, General Happiness;" the other, this declaration, "Those who usurp supreme power ought to be put to death by freemen." They were all ready, the proclamations were printed, and the day fixed, when they were betrayed—as usually happens in conspiracies—by Grisel.

On the 10th May [21 floréal], the evening preceding the intended attack, the conspirators were seized in their council chamber. The plan and all the details of the plot were found at Babœuf's house. The directory informed the councils of it by message, and announced it to the people in a proclamation. This singular attempt, which was so strongly tinged with fanaticism, and which was nothing else than a repetition of the insurrection in May [prairial], without its means, and without its hopes of success, excited the greatest terror: the recent domination of the Jacobins still presented a fearful image to the imagination. Babœuf, prisoner as he was, like a bold conspirator, proposed terms of peace to the directory.

"Would you," he wrote, "consider it be-

neath you, citizen directors, to treat with me as one power with another? You have observed the great confidence which is reposed in me; you have observed that my party is a match for yours; you have observed its numerous ramifications. I am convinced this observation has made you tremble." He concluded by saying "There is but one wise course to take:—proclaim that there has been no serious conspiracy. Five men, by being great and generous, may this day save their country. I assure you that the patriots are still devoted to you: it is not you that they hate; it is only your unpopular measures. For my own part, I will give you a security which shall last as long as my freedom." The directors, instead of concurring in the proposed accommodation, published Babœuf's letter, and directed the conspirators to be taken before the high court of Vendôme.

Their partisans made a last attempt. In the night of the 7th September, [23 fructidor,] about eleven o'clock, they marched to the number of six or seven hundred, armed with sabres and pistols, against the directory, which however they found defended by its

guards. They then proceeded to the camp of Grenelle, which, from the supposed understanding between themselves and it, they had hopes of gaining over. The camp had retired to rest when the conspirators arrived. When the sentinels demanded "Who goes there?" they replied "Long live the republic! Long live the constitution of 93!" The sentinels immediately gave the alarm. The conspirators, relying upon the assistance of a battalion of the guard which had been reduced, marched towards the tent of Malo, the commander, who ordered his men to sound to horse, and his dragoons, who were half naked, to mount. The conspirators, surprised at this reception, made but a feeble resistance: they were put to flight, leaving a number of dead, and many prisoners, on the field of battle. This unfortunate expedition was almost the last of the party; at each successive defeat it lost its energy and its leaders, and at length acquired the secret conviction that its reign was at an end. The enterprise of Grenelle proved a very disastrous affair to it; for, besides its losses in the engagement, it suffered considerably before the military commissions, which were as

fatal to it as the revolutionary tribunals had been to its enemies. The commission at the camp of Grenelle, at five times, condemned thirty-one of the conspirators to death, thirty to transportation, and twenty-five to imprisonment.

Some time afterwards, Babœuf and his accomplices, amongst whom were Amar, Vadier, and Darthé, the old secretary of Joseph Lebon, were brought to trial before the high court of Vendôme. They none of them belied their character, they spoke like men who were neither afraid to avow their designs nor to die for their cause. At the beginning and ending of each examination, they hummed the air of the *Marseillaise*. This ancient song of victory, joined with their confident demeanour, struck the spectators with astonishment, and seemed to render them still formidable. Their wives having followed them before the tribunal; Babœuf, in finishing his defence, turned towards them, and said "They might follow them to the very place of execution, for their punishment could not make them blush." Babœuf and Darthé were condemned to death, and they both, on hearing their sen-

tence, stabbed themselves with their daggers. Babœuf was the last chief of the old commune, and of the committee of public safety, which had been divided before July [thermidor], but had afterwards united. The final dispersion of this party, which had been diminishing more and more every day, may be dated from this period. Under the reaction it remained united, and under Babœuf presented a formidable association. From that time democrats still existed, but the party was disorganized.

Between the enterprise of Grenelle and Babœuf's condemnation, the royalists also engaged in a conspiracy. The effect produced upon public opinion by the projects of the democrats was quite the reverse of that which had been produced by the affair of October, and, in consequence, inspired the counter-revolutionists with confidence. In the troops of Grenelle, which had repulsed the faction of Babœuf, their secret chiefs hoped to find auxiliaries. This party, however, shewed both want of skill and impatience in its conduct, for not being able to avail itself of the sections, as in October, or

of the councils, as more recently on the 4th September [18 fructidor], it was weak enough to employ three men without influence or reputation, to carry on the negociation. These men were, the abbé Brothier, an old member of parliament, Lavilheurnois, and a kind of adventurer, called Dunan: they applied without disguise to Malo, who commanded a squadron, for the assistance of the camp in establishing the ancient government. Malo delivered them up to the directory, who, not being able to bring them to trial before the military commissions, as they wished, tranferred them to the jurisdiction of the civil power. They were treated with great caution by the judges of their party, chosen under the influence which had prevailed in October, and were only sentenced to a slight imprisonment. At this period the contest between the authorities which had been appointed by the sections, and the directory which was supported by the army, commenced. As each resorted to its own party for support and protection, when those who had the elective power placed themselves at the disposal of the counter-revolutionists, the

directory was compelled to introduce the army into the government, a measure which in the sequel produced dreadful inconveniences.

The directory was not only victorious over the two disaffected factions at home, but also triumphed over Europe. The new campaign had opened under the happiest auspices: Bonaparte, on his arrival at Nice, signalized the period of his taking the command, by planning one of the boldest invasions. His army had until that time done nothing but wander about the sides of the Alps; it was destitute of every necessary, and in number scarcely amounted to thirty thousand men: but it was well supplied with courage and patriotism, which enabled Bonaparte to commence a career which long excited the surprise of the world, and which was crowned with success for a period of upwards of twenty years. He raised the cantonments, and made preparations in the valley of Savone for the purpose of entering Italy between the Alps and the Appenines. Before him were ninety thousand troops, the centre of which was under the command of Argentau, the left of Colli, and the right of Beaulieu. This immense army was dispersed in a few days, by

prodigious efforts of genius and of courage. At Montenotte, Bonaparte overthrew the enemy's centre, and forced his way into Piedmont: at Millesimo, he effected the complete separation of the Sardinian and Austrian armies, which severally hastened to the defence of Turin and Milan, the capitals of their dominions. The republican general, before he pursued the Austrians, threw himself upon the enemy's left, in order to finish with the Sardinian army; at Mondovi, the fate of Piedmont was decided, and the alarmed court of Turin hastily prepared to surrender. An armistice was concluded at Chérasque, which was speedily followed by a peace between the king of Sardinia and the republic. The occupation of Alexandria, the key of Lombardy; the demolition of the fortresses of Suze and Brunette, at the back of France; the abandonment of the county of Nice, and of Savoy, and the release of the other army of the Alps under Kellermann, were the reward of a campaign of fifteen days, and of six victories.

The war being terminated in Piedmont, Bonaparte marched against the Austrians, to whom he was determined to allow no respite.

He passed the Po at Placenza, and the Adda at Lodi. The victory which he gained at the last place opened the gates of Milan, and put him in possession of Lombardy. General Beaulieu was driven into the passes of the Tyrol, and the republican army invested Mantua, and appeared upon the mountains of the empire. Beaulieu was then superseded by general Wurmser, and a new army joined the wreck of the vanquished one. Wurmser advanced, in order to relieve Mantua, and transfer the scene of war again into Italy: but he shared the fate of his predecessor; he was annihilated by Bonaparte, who, having raised the siege of Mantua, that he might oppose this new enemy, afterwards recommenced it with renewed vigour, and resumed his position in the Tyrol. The scheme of the invasion was executed with great unanimity and success. Whilst the army of Italy menaced Austria by the Tyrol, the two armies of the Meuse and the Rhine advanced into Germany; Moreau, supported by Jourdan on his left, was upon the point of effecting a junction with Bonaparte on his right. They had passed the Rhine at Neuwied and at Strasburg, and had advanced

upon a connected front, extending to the distance of sixty leagues, driving before them the enemy, who attempted in their retreat to stop their progress and to break their line. The two armies had almost achieved the object of their enterprise: Moreau had entered Ulm and Augsburg, had crossed the Leck, and his vanguard had arrived at the last pass of the Tyrol, when Jourdan, between whom and Moreau there existed a want of concert, imprudently advanced beyond the line.

The consequence was, that his army was broken and routed by the archduke Charles; and Moreau, whose left flank was now uncovered, was compelled to fall back. It was then that he effected his celebrated retreat. Jourdan was guilty of a capital error, which for the present prevented the accomplishment of this great design, and also allowed the Austrian monarchy time to breathe.

The cabinet of Vienna, which had lost the Netherlands, felt the importance of preserving Italy, and therefore defended it with the greatest obstinacy. Wurmser, after a fresh defeat, was forced to throw himself into Mantua, with the wreck of his army. General Alvinzi next came to try his fortune,

but had no better success than Beaulieu and Wurmser. New victories were added to the already astonishing achievements of the army of Italy, and the conquest of that country was secured. Mantua capitulated, and the republican army, being now masters of Italy, took their route across the mountains to Vienna. Bonaparte having prince Charles, the last hope of Austria, before him, soon freed the defiles of the Tyrol, and debouched upon the plains of Germany. In the meantime the two armies of the Rhine and the Meuse, the first under the command of Moreau, and the other of Hoche, resumed with success the plan of the last campaign. The cabinet of Vienna became alarmed, and concluded the armistice of Leoben. It had in fact tried all its generals, and exhausted all its strength, whilst the French republic, on its side, was in the full vigour of conquest.

The army of Italy completed the work of the French revolution in Europe. The success of this surprising campaign was owing to the union of a commander of genius with an intelligent army. Bonaparte's lieutenants were themselves qualified to command, and had sufficient confidence in their own talents

to take upon themselves the responsibility of a movement or a battle; and his army was composed of citizens, even of cultivated and noble minds, who were ambitious to perform memorable deeds, and who were passionately attached to a revolution, which not only aggrandized their country but secured within the limits of discipline their own independence, and even afforded every soldier the opportunity of himself becoming a general. With men like these, a man of genius might do anything. The remembrance of his earlier days, when he called liberty and intelligence around him, was calculated to make Bonaparte regret, at a later period of his life, that he had substituted mechanical armies in their place, and generals who knew nothing but how to obey. Bonaparte now commenced the third epoch of the war. The campaign of 1792 had been carried on according to the old system, with single bodies of troops acting separately, but still preserving their line. The committee of public safety concentrated these bodies, directed their operations not merely to what was immediately before them, but to more remote objects, increased the rapidity of their movements, and pointed them to one general

end. That which the committee did for every campaign, Bonaparte did for every battle. He moved the various parts of his army to the determinate point; and so rapid were his evolutions, that with a single army he was able to disorganize many. He could dispose of his forces at pleasure, and move them with secrecy and dispatch to any point that he wished, either to occupy a position or gain a battle. His diplomatic skill was equal to his military science. All the Italian governments had adhered to the coalition, but the people were favourable to the French republic. Bonaparte relied upon the people; Piedmont, which he could not subdue, he contrived to neutralize; the Milanese, which until that time had been dependent on Austria, he converted into the Cisalpine Republic; and by means of contributions he weakened the petty princes of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, without going the length of depriving them of their governments. The pope, who, on the first success of Bonaparte against Beaulieu, had signed an armistice, which he did not scruple to break on the arrival of Wurmser, purchased a peace by the cession of Bologna and Ferrara, which were added

to the Cisalpine republic; and lastly, the aristocratic governments of Venice and Genoa, which had joined the coalition and raised an insurrection in the rear of the army, were changed into democracies, in order to transfer the power of the nobles into the hands of the people. In this manner the revolution penetrated into Italy.

By the preliminaries of Leoben, Austria ceded the Netherlands to France, and acknowledged the Lombard republic. All the confederate powers had laid down their arms, and England herself was desirous of entering into negociations for peace. France, which had now attained her natural limits, was free and at peace at home, and was surrounded by infant republics, such as those of Holland, Lombardy, and Liguria, which protected her borders and extended her system in Europe. The coalition could be little disposed again to attack a revolution, every administration of which had been victorious; that of the anarchists after the 10th of August, that of the dictatorship after the 31st May, and that of legal authority, under the directory; a revolution, which at every fresh hostility, encroached a little farther on European territory.

In 1792 it had only extended to the Netherlands; in 1794 it had advanced to Holland, and as far as the Rhine; in 1796 it had overrun Italy, and penetrated into part of Germany; and it was probable, that if it had resumed its march, it would have achieved more distant conquests. Everything therefore was favourable to a general pacification.

But the situation of the directory was considerably altered by the elections of May 1797 (in the year 5.) These elections, by introducing the royalist party into the legislature and the government, again raised the question, which the battle of *vendémiaire* had decided. Until this period a perfectly good understanding had subsisted between the directory and the councils. Both composed of conventionalists, united by a common interest, and equally animated by the wish to establish the republic after it had been shaken by all the storms of party, they had manifested much good will to each other in their communications, and great concert in their measures. The councils had acceded to the different demands of the directory. They had, with some slight modifications, approved of its projects relative to finance and the ad-

ministration of affairs, and had sanctioned its conduct with respect to the conspiracies, to the armies, and to Europe. The anti-constitutional minority had formed an opposition in the councils; but being in expectation of receiving a reinforcement by the election of a new third, it conducted its opposition with some degree of caution. At its head were Barbé-Marbois, Pastoret, Vaublanc, Dumas, Portalis, Siméon, Trançon-Ducoudray, and Dupont de Nemours, most of whom had been members of the *right*, under the legislative assembly, and some of whom were avowed royalists. In consequence of the increased strength which they acquired by the elections of the year 5, their intentions became less equivocal, and their attitude more menacing.

The royalists were in fact an active and formidable body, which had its chiefs, its agents, its lists, and its journals. They prevented the election of the republicans, and for the time assumed the banner of the multitude, which, as it always follows the most energetic party, was carried away by their enthusiasm. They were not disposed even to admit the patriots of the first period, and in fact chose none but decided counter-revolu-

tionists or equivocal constitutionalists. At this period the republican party was in possession of the government and the army; the royalist party of the electoral assemblies and the councils. On the 28th May [1 prairial, in the year 5] the councils assembled. From that moment they shewed the spirit which animated them. Pichegru, whom the royalists introduced upon the new field of battle, was chosen president of the younger council with enthusiasm, and Barbé-Marbois was called with the same animation to the presidency of the ancients. The legislative body next proceeded to the nomination of a director in the place of Letourneur, who had been declared the retiring member by ballot on the 19th May [30 floréal]. Their choice fell upon Barthélemy, the ambassador to Switzerland, who, being a royalist and an advocate for peace, was agreeable both to the councils and to Europe; but his absence from France during all the period of the revolution rendered him but ill qualified to take a part in the government of the republic.

These indications of hostility against the directory and the conventional party, were succeeded by more serious attempts. Their

administration and their policy were openly attacked. Everything that could have been done by a legal government in a situation which was still of a revolutionary nature, had been done by the directory. It was, however, reproached with the continuance of the war and the disorder of the finances. The majority of the legislative assemblies availed itself with address of the public necessities; it supported the unrestrained license of the press, because it allowed the journals to attack the directory, and thus lay the foundation of a different system: it advocated peace, because it would occasion the disarming of the republic; and lastly, it espoused the cause of economy.

These measures were in some degree both useful and national. France was exhausted, and felt the necessity of them, in order to enable her to complete her social restoration; she therefore half entered into the wishes of the royalists, without, by any means, participating in their motives. The measures of the councils relative to priests and emigrants, created rather more alarm. The nation wished for peace, but not that the vanquished should return in triumph. The acts of grace, which

the councils passed in their favour were marked with extreme precipitation. They abolished, and properly, the transportation or imprisonment of priests on account of religion or of *incivism*, but they also endeavoured to establish the ancient privileges of their worship, to invest re-established Catholicism, with an outward distinction by the use of bells, and to exempt the priests from the oaths required of public functionaries. Camille Jordan, a young Lyonese deputy, distinguished by his eloquence and courage, but who entertained some unreasonable opinions, was the great panegyrist of the clergy in the younger council. His speech on this subject occasioned great surprise, and produced violent opposition. All that remained of enthusiasm was still of a patriotic kind, and they were therefore astonished at the exhibition of so different a description of enthusiasm as that of religion: they had in the last age, and during the revolution, been totally unaccustomed to it, and they could not now comprehend it. It was at this time that the old party reconstructed its creeds and introduced its language into society, and mingled them with the creeds and language

of the reformers, who had been until then the sole dominant party. The consequence was, as it usually happens in those things for which the public is unprepared, that an impression of an unfavourable and ridiculous kind was excited against Camille-Jordan, and he was nicknamed *Chiming Jordan*, and *Jordan of the bells*. The efforts of the advocates of the clergy were not, however, crowned with success: the council of five hundred had not yet the courage to decree the re-establishment of bells and the independence of the clergy. The moderate party, after a little hesitation, joined the side of the directory, and supported the civic oath amidst cries of *Long live the republic!*

The hostilities against the directory nevertheless continued, especially in the council of five hundred, which was more headstrong and impatient than that of the ancients. These indications inspired the royalists of the interior with courage. They renewed the retaliatory system against the patriots, and those who had acquired the national domains. Emigrants and refractory priests returned in crowds, and not being able to submit to any part of the revolution, they took no pains to

conceal their design of overturning it. The authority of the directory, thus menaced in the metropolis, and disavowed in the departments, became entirely powerless. But the absolute necessity of defending itself, the anxiety of all who were devoted to it and to the revolution, inspired it with courage and with hope. The proceedings of the councils excited a suspicion against their attachment to the republic. The multitude, who had at first supported, now abandoned them. The constitutionalists of 1791 and the directorial party formed an alliance. The club of Salm, established under their auspices, was placed in opposition to the club of Clichy, for a long time the rendezvous of the most influential members of the councils. The directory, at the same time that it relied on public opinion, did not neglect its chief security, the support of the troops. Several regiments of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, commanded by Hoche, were ordered to advance towards Paris: the limit of six *myriametres* (twelve leagues) which the troops could not pass without violating the constitution, was disregarded. The councils complained of this to the directory, who pretended an ill

concealed ignorance of the matter, and made very unsatisfactory excuses.

The two parties were watching each other: the position of the one was in the directory, the club of Salm, and the army; that of the other in the councils, at Clichy, and in the *salons* of the royalists. The multitude were spectators. Each party was inclined to act in the revolutionary fashion towards the other. An intermediate party, whose principles were of a constitutional and pacific nature, attempted to prevent this struggle, and to re-establish a harmony which was altogether impossible. Carnot was at the head of this party, and some members of the council of five hundred, directed by Thibadeau, together with a considerable number of the ancients, supported his scheme. Carnot, who at this period was the director of the constitution, and Barthélemy, who was the director of the legislature, constituted a minority in the government. The former, austere in his conduct and self-willed in his views, could agree neither with Barras nor the imperious Rewbell. To this dissimilarity in character was added a difference of system; Barras and Rewbell, supported by La Ré-

veillère, were by no means indisposed to resort to violence against the councils, whilst Carnot was desirous of strictly adhering to the provisions of the law. This great citizen had at each epoch of the revolution distinctly perceived the mode of government which was most suitable to it; and his ideas were no sooner formed than they became a firm conviction. Thus, under the committee of public safety, he had a firm conviction of the necessity of dictatorship; and under the directory, of legal government. In not attaching any importance to difference of circumstances, he found himself placed in a singular position; he was an advocate for peace at a time of war, and for the law at a time of violence.

The councils, in some alarm at the preparations of the directory, manifested a desire to accommodate matters, on the sacrifice of certain ministers who did not possess their confidence. These ministers were Merlin de Douai, the minister of justice; Lacroix, of foreign affairs; and Ramel, of finance. On the other hand, they were desirous of retaining Pétiet, the minister of war; Bénésech, of home affairs; and Cochon

de l'Apparent, of police. Their object was that, in case of their failing to secure the directorial power, they might at least make sure of the ministry. Far from acceding to this wish, which would have introduced the enemy into the government, Rewbell, Laréveillère, and Barras, deposed the ministers protected by the councils, and retained the others. Bénésech was succeeded by François de Neufchâteau; Pétiet by Hoche, and soon after by Shérer; Cochon de l'Apparent by Lenoir-Laroche; and Lenoir-Laroche, who did not possess sufficient decision of character, by Sotin. Talleyrand also formed one of this ministry. He had, at the conclusion of the conventional session, been struck out of the list of emigrants as a revolutionist of 1791; and his extraordinary penetration, which always enabled him to take the side which held out the greatest promise of victory, rendered him at this period a directorial republican. He succeeded Lacroix, and by his advice and his boldness was essentially instrumental in producing the events of September [fructidor].

War appeared at this time more and more inevitable. The directory would by no means

consent to an accommodation, the only effect of which would have been to postpone their ruin, and that of the republic, until the elections of the year 6. They procured menacing addresses from the armies, directed against the councils. Augereau was the bearer of those of the army of Italy. "*Tremble royalists!*" said the soldiers; "*it is but a step from the Adige to the Seine. Tremble! your iniquities are numbered, and we carry their reward at the point of our bayonets!*"—"*It is with indignation,*" said the officers of the staff, "*that we have seen liberty endangered by the intrigues of the royalists. We have sworn by the spirits of our departed heroes, who died for their country, implacable war against royalty and royalists. Such are our sentiments, such are yours; such are the sentiments of all true patriots. Let them but shew themselves royalists, and they shall have lived!*" The councils protested, but without effect, against this interference of the army. General Richepanse, who commanded the troops which had arrived from the Sambre and Meuse, posted them at Versailles, at Meudon and at Vincennes. The councils had been the assailants in May [prairial]; but as their cause would probably be

again successful in the year 6, without risk and without the necessity of fighting for it, they kept upon the defensive after July 1797. They nevertheless made dispositions for an engagement, in case it should become necessary; they directed that the *constitutional circles* should be closed, in order that they might get rid of the club of Salm; they augmented the powers of the *inspectors of the hall*, who exercised the powers of the legislative body, and of which the two royalist conspirators, Willot and Pichegru, were members. The guard of the councils, which had been subject to the directory, was placed under the immediate orders of the inspectors of the hall. Finally, on the 3rd September, [17 fructidor], the legislative body conceived the design of obtaining the assistance of the militia of October [vendémiaire] and, upon the motion of Pichegru, it decreed the formation of the national guard. This measure was to be executed the next day, when it was proposed that the councils should decree the removal of the troops. At the point to which the two parties had arrived, a victory was necessary, in order once more to decide the great contest between the revolution

and the old government. The intemperate general Willot was anxious that the councils should strike the first blow, that they should decree the accusation of the three directors, Barras, Rewbell, and Laréveillère; that they should oblige the other two to enter the legislative body; that, if the government refused to obey, the tocsin should be sounded, and that they should march with the old sections against the directory; that Pichegru should be placed at the head of the *legal insurrection*, and that all these measures should be taken promptly, boldly, and openly. It is said that Pichegru hesitated; and, the advice of the indecisive part of the councils prevailing, they pursued the tardy course of constitutional proceedings.

Not so with the directory. Barras, Rewbell, and Laréveillère, resolved to attack Carnot, Barthélemy, and the majority of the legislative assembly, without a moment's delay. The morning of the 4th was appointed for the execution of this project. The troops stationed round Paris entered the city on the preceding evening, under the command of Augereau. The project of the directorial triumvirate was to take possession of the

Tuileries with the troops, before the legislative body could assemble, and thus avoid a forcible expulsion; to convene the councils in the vicinity of the Luxembourg, after having arrested their principal leaders, and to complete, by a legislative enactment, a stroke of policy which had been commenced by force. They were supported by the minority of the councils, and they relied upon the approbation of the multitude. At one o'clock in the morning the troops arrived at the Hotel-de-Ville, and stationed themselves upon the quays, the bridges, and the Champs Elysées. In a very short time twelve thousand men, and forty pieces of cannon, surrounded the Tuileries. At four o'clock the alarm gun was fired, and general Augereau presented himself at the gate of the Pont-Tournant.

The guard of the legislative body was under arms, and the inspectors of the hall, apprised on the preceding evening of the expected movement, had repaired to the national palace (the Tuileries), for the purpose of defending the entrance. Ramel, the commander of the legislative guard, was devoted to the councils, and he had stationed his eight

hundred grenadiers at the different avenues of the garden, which was secured by gates. But it was not with so feeble a force that Pichegru, Willot, and Ramel, could oppose any effectual resistance to the directory. Augereau had no occasion even to force the passage of the Pont-Tournant; he had scarcely arrived within hearing of the grenadiers, before he called to them,—*Are you republicans?* The latter immediately replied by lowering their arms, and crying *Long live Augereau! Long live the directory!* and joined him. Augereau traversed the garden, penetrated the hall of the councils, and arrested Pichegru, Willot, Ramel, and all the inspectors of the hall, whom he sent to the Temple. The members of the council were hastily convened by the inspectors, and repaired in crowds to the place of meeting, but the troops either arrested, or refused to admit them. Augereau announced to them, that the directory, being strongly impressed with the necessity of taking measures to defend the republic against the machinations of conspirators, sitting in the very midst of the councils, had appointed the Odéon and the School of Medicine for their place of meeting. The major part of the deputies exclaimed, but in vain, against mili-

tary violence and directorial usurpation. At six o'clock in the morning, the whole business was completed. The Parisians on rising, found the troops still in arms, and the walls placarded with proclamations announcing the discovery of a formidable conspiracy. The people were invited to retain their confidence and preserve order. The directory had already printed a letter addressed to it by general Moreau, in which he detailed the plots of his predecessor Pichegru with the emigrants, and also another letter from the prince of Condé to Imbert-Colomès, a member of the council of ancients. The whole population remained quiet, and being a mere spectator of events produced by the assistance of the army, without the co-operation of parties, it manifested neither approbation nor regret.

The directory were desirous that this extraordinary proceeding should obtain the sanction of the law, and, above all, that it should be completed. As soon, therefore, as the members of the five hundred and those of the ancients were assembled at the Odéon and the School of Medicine, and found themselves in sufficient number for the purposes of deliberation, and had established themselves, a message from the directory announced to

them the motives by which it had been actuated in all its measures. "Legislative citizens," said this message, "if the directory had but delayed one day longer, the republic would have fallen a victim to its enemies. The very place in which you sit was appointed for the meeting of the conspirators; it was there that they yesterday distributed their passes and their certificates for the delivery of arms; it was from that point that they this night carried on a correspondence with their accomplices, and, finally, it was from that place or in the neighbourhood, that they again attempted those clandestine and seditious assemblages which the police is at this moment engaged in dispersing. To have allowed the faithful representatives of the people to be thus confounded with the enemies of their country, would have been to have endangered not only the public safety but their own." The council of five hundred appointed a commission, composed of Sièyes, Poulain-Grandpré, Villers, Chazel, and Boulay de la Meurthe, with instructions to prepare a *law of public safety*. The measure they adopted was that of banishment, which thus

succeeded to the scaffold in this second period of revolution and dictatorship.

The members of the *council of five hundred* condemned to exile, were—Aubry, J. J. Aimé, Bayard, Blain, Boissy-d'Anglas, Borne, Bourdon de l'Oise, Cadroy, Couchery, Delahaye, Delarue, Doumère, Dumolard, Duplantier, Gibert Desmolières, Henri-Larivière, Imbert Colomès, Camille Jordan, Jourdan (des Bouches du Rhône), Gall, La Carrière, Lemarchand-Gomicourt, Lemérer, Mersan, Madier, Maillard, Noailles, André, Mac-Cartin, Pavie, Pastoret, Pichegru, Polissard, Praire-Montaud, Quatremère-Quincy, Saladin, Siméon, Vauvilliers, Vienot-Vaublanc, Villaret-Joyeuse, and Willot. Those of the *council of the ancients* were—Barbé-Marbois, Dumas, Ferraud-Vaillant, Lafond-Ladebat, Laumont, Muraire, Murinais, Paradis, Portalis, Rovère, Tronçon-Ducoudray: and those of the directory, Carnot and Barthélemy. In addition to the persons above mentioned, they condemned the abbé Brothièr, La Villeheurnois, and Dunan; the ex-minister of police, Cochon; the ex-agent of the police, Dossonville; generals Miranda and Morgan; the

journalist Suard, the ex-conventionalist Mailhe, and the commandant Ramel. Some of the condemned members contrived to avoid the execution of the sentence of exile: Carnot was one of them. The greater part were banished to Cayenne, but a great many never quitted the isle of Rhé.

This act of ostracism was very much extended by the directory, who included in the sentence of banishment the authors of thirty-five journals. "They strove to reach at the same time the enemies of the republic in the councils, in the journals, in the electoral assemblies, in the departments; in a word, wherever they were found. The elections of forty-eight departments were quashed, and the laws in favour of the priests and of the emigrants were repealed. The immediate disappearance of all those who had domineered the departments since the 27th July [9 thermidor] once more raised the spirits of the depressed republicans. In fact, the measure of September was not like that of October [vendémiaire] only partial in its effects; the latter only defeated the royalist party, but the former totally ruined them. The substitution, however, of a dictatorship for legal government

rendered another revolution unavoidable. Of this we shall speak hereafter. We may remark, with respect to the 4th September, [18 fructidor] in the year 5, that it was absolutely inevitable, either that the directory should obtain a victory over the counter-revolution, by decimating the councils; or the councils over the republic, by overturning the directory. It would then remain to enquire, first, if the directory could have succeeded in any other manner than by a stroke of political violence; secondly, if it have not abused its victory.

The government had no authority to dissolve the councils. At the termination of a revolution, the object of which was the establishment of strict right, they could not transfer the direction and control of the kingdom to a secondary authority, and make the legislature, in certain cases, subordinate to the directory. The directors not possessing the power of trying an experimental polity, it may be asked, whether they had any other means of driving the enemy from the very heart of the state? It was no longer able to defend the revolution by the power of the law, and the only alternative therefore was, dictatorship: but in resort-

ing to this alternative, the condition of its existence was broken, and at the same time that it saved the revolution it destroyed itself.

As to its victory, it was, in the attempt to render it too complete, stained with violence. Banishment was extended to too many victims; the petty passions of mankind were mingled with the defence of a great cause, and the directory did not shew that temperance in arbitrary measures which is alone the justice to be expected at such a crisis. It ought, if it had wished to attain its end, to have exiled the chief conspirators only; but it rarely happens that a party does not abuse the power it possesses, and believe that there is danger in indulgence.

The councils of the year 5 were, with respect to the republic, what the legislative assembly had been with respect to the monarchy, except that the Girondists of royalty, not being, like their predecessors, supported by the people, and the directory having a republican army under its control, the events of the 4th September operated against counter-revolution instead of in its favour. This was the fourth defeat of the royalists; two had taken place when it was deprived of power, those of

the 14th July and the 10th August, and two when it was prevented from resuming its power, those of the 5th October and the 4th September. This repetition of impotent attempts and these successive reverses, contributed in no small degree towards reducing this party to submission under the consulate and the empire.

CHAPTER XIII.

The directory, in consequence of the events of the 4th September, returns to a modified revolutionary government.—General peace, except with England.—Bonaparte's return to Paris; his expedition to Egypt.—Democratic elections of the year 6; the directory annuls them, the 11th May [22 floréal].—Second coalition: Russia, Austria, and England attack the republic by Italy, Switzerland, and Holland; general defeats.—Democratic elections of the year 7; the 18th June [30 prairial].—The councils take their revenge on and disorganize the old directory.—Two parties in the new directory and in the councils: the moderate republican party under Sièyes, Roger Ducos, and the council of ancients; that of the ultra republicans, under Moulins, Gohier, the council of five hundred, and the society of *Manége*.—Projects of various kinds.—Victories of Massena in Switzerland, and of Brune in Holland.—Bonaparte returns from Egypt; he comes to an understanding with Sièyes and his party.—Affairs of the 8th and 9th November [18 and 19 brumaire].—End of the dictatorial government.

THE chief result of the 4th September was the return of the revolutionary government, a little modified. The two ancient privileged classes were again driven from society; the refractory priests were a second time exiled.

The *Chouans* and the old *Fuyards*, who had occupied the field of battle in the departments, now abandoned it to the old republicans. All who had formed a part of the military household of the Bourbons, the superior agents of the crown, the members of parliament, the commanders of the Orders of the Holy Ghost and of St. Louis, the knights of Malta; all, in short, who had protested against the abolition of the nobility and retained its titles, were ordered to quit the territory of the republic. The old nobles, as well as those recently created, were rendered incapable of exercising the rights of citizens until the expiration of seven years, after having served as it were their apprenticeship to the republic. Thus did this party, in its thirst for rule, bring back the dictatorship.

The directory about this period reached the height of its power; for some time past it had had no enemy in arms. Freed from all intestine opposition, it imposed peace on Austria by the treaty of Campo Formio, and on the empire by the congress of Rastadt. The treaty of Campo Formio was more favourable to the cabinet of Vienna than the preliminaries of Leoben It was indemnified for the loss

of the Belgic and Lombard states with a part of the Venetian territories. This ancient republic was divided: France kept the Illyrian islands, and ceded the city of Venice, with the provinces of Istria and Dalmatia, to Austria. By this measure, the directory not only committed a great error, but was guilty of a real crime. We may, in the fanaticism of system, wish to render a nation free, but we can have no right to give it away. In partitioning the territories of a small state in this arbitrary manner, the directory furnished a bad example of the traffic in kingdoms, which has been since but too much followed. Besides, the imprudent cession of Venice would sooner or later enable Austria to extend her dominions in Italy.

The coalition of 1792 and 1793 was now dissolved, and England was the only belligerent power that remained. The cabinet of London, which had attacked, in the hope of weakening, France, was by no means disposed to cede to her the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Porentruy, Nice, Savoy, the protectorate of Piedmont, Genoa, Milan, and Holland. But in order to appease the opposition at home, as well as to repair its means of attack, it made

propositions for peace, and lord Malmsbury was sent, in the character of plenipotentiary, first to Paris and then to Lisle. But the directory perceiving that the proposals of Pitt were insincere, would not allow itself to be thus deceived by diplomatic manœuvres. The negociations were twice broken off, and the war between the two powers continued. Whilst England was negociating at Lisle, she was preparing at St. Petersburgh the *triple alliance,* or the second coalition.

The directory, on their side, destitute of money, unassisted by any party at home, and possessing no other support than the army, and no other means of obtaining *éclât* than the continuation of its victories, was not in a condition to consent to a general peace. The public discontent was increased by the establishment of certain taxes, and by the reduction of the public debt to a *consolidated third,* and that payable only in money, an arrangement by which the fundholders were ruined. War was necessary to its existence. An immense body of soldiers could not be disbanded without danger. Besides that the directory would by such a step have been deprived of its force and placed at the mercy of its Eu-

ropean enemies, it would have been to attempt a thing which, except in times of great tranquillity, and when the people enjoy easy circumstances and abundant employment, is never attempted without hazard. The directory was therefore pushed by its situation, to undertake the expedition to Egypt and the invasion of Switzerland.

Bonaparte was then on his return to Paris. The conqueror of Italy and the pacificator of the continent, was received with an enthusiasm, assumed on the part of the directory, but really felt by the people. Honours were granted to him which no other general of the republic had ever enjoyed. A patriotic altar [autel de la patrie] was prepared in the Luxembourg, and in his passage to the triumphal ceremony, of which he was the object, he passed under an arch formed of the colours taken in Italy. He was addressed by Barras, president of the directory, who after having congratulated him on his victories, invited him "to crown so glorious a life by a conquest which the great nation owed to its outraged dignity." This was the conquest of England. They appeared to prepare everything for a

descent, whilst the real object in view was the invasion of Egypt.

Such an enterprise suited both the directory and Bonaparte. The independent conduct of this general in Italy, his ambition, which could not be entirely concealed under a studied simplicity, rendered his presence dangerous. He, on the other hand, was afraid that an inactive life would diminish the already vast opinion which had been formed of him; the world always requiring of those it terms great, more than they can perform. Whilst the directory, in the expedition to Egypt, only thought of the removal of a formidable general, and of attacking the English through India, Bonaparte regarded it as a gigantic conception, an employment agreeable to his taste, and a new means of astonishing mankind. He sailed from Toulon on the 19th May 1798 [30 floréal, in the year 6] with a fleet of four hundred sail, and part of the troops of Italy; he proceeded with a fair wind to Malta, of which he made himself master, and from that Island towards Egypt.

The directory, which was desirous of pro-

curing the neutrality of the Ottoman Porte, that it might attack the English, violated that of Switzerland, that it might expel the emigrants from its territories. French opinions had penetrated into Geneva, and the Pays de Vaud; but the policy of the Swiss confederation was, through the influence of the aristocracy of Berne, avowedly of a counter-revolutionary cast. They had driven from the cantons all the Swiss who had shewn themselves partisans of the French republic. Berne was the head quarters of the emigrants, and there all the plots against the revolution were hatched. The directory complained, but received no satisfaction. The Vaudois, placed by ancient treaties under the direction of France, invoked its support against the tyranny of Berne. The appeal of the Vaudois, its own grievances, and the desire of extending its republican system in Switzerland, much more than the temptation to seize the petty treasure of Berne, with which it has been reproached, decided the directory. After some negociations, which led to nothing, the war commenced. The Swiss defended themselves with great courage and obstinacy; they thought of bringing back

the times of their forefathers; but they were at length compelled to yield. Geneva was reunited to France, and Switzerland exchanged its ancient constitution for that of the year 3. From that moment two parties existed in the confederation, one of which advocated the cause of France and the revolution, and the other that of Austria and a counter-revolution. Switzerland, from this period, ceased to be a common barrier, and became the high road of Europe.

The revolution of Switzerland was speedily followed by that of Rome, where general Duphot being killed in a disturbance, which the pontifical government made no effort to prevent, that state was as a punishment for the offence changed into a republic. All these events tended to complete the system of the directory, and to give it a preponderance in Europe; it was now at the head of the Helvetian, Batavian, Ligurian, Cisalpine, and Roman republics, all of which were constructed after the same model. But whilst the directory extended its influence abroad, it was again threatened by parties at home.

The elections of May 1796 [floréal, year 6] were by no means favourable to the directory;

they were entirely of a different character from those of the year 5. Since the 4th September [18 fructidor] the removal of the counter-revolutionists had restored all the influence of the exclusive republicans, who re-established clubs under the name of *constitutional circles*. This party preponderated in the electoral assemblies, which, by an extraordinary casualty, had to name four hundred and thirty-seven deputies; two hundred and ninety-eight for the council of five hundred, and one hundred and thirty-nine for that of the ancients. As soon as the elections approached, the directory began to exclaim loudly against the anarchists. But its proclamations not having had the effect of preventing democratic elections, it determined to annul them by virtue of a law of circumstance [*loi de circonstance*] by which the councils had, after the 4th September, granted it the *power of judging* the proceedings of the electoral assemblies. It invited the legislative body, by message, to appoint a commission of five members for this purpose. A great portion of the elections was in consequence, on the 11th May [22 floréal] annulled. This blow was aimed by the directoral party at

the ultra-republicans, as, nine months before, it had aimed a blow at the royalists.

The directory was desirous of retaining that political equilibrium which had characterized the first two years of its existence, but its situation was materially changed. Since its last measure, it could no longer be deemed an impartial government, because it was no longer a constitutional one. Its pretensions to independence excited general discontent; it continued, however, in the same state until the elections of the year 7. It displayed great activity, but it was of a narrow and bustling kind. Merlin (de Douai) and Treilhard, who had succeeded Carnot and Barthélémy, were two political pettifoggers; Rewbell had in the highest degree the courage requisite for a statesman, without possessing enlarged views; La Réveillère was too much occupied with the sect of theophilanthropists for the head of a government. As to Barras, he continued his dissolute course of life and his directorial regency: his palace was the resort of gamesters, women of intrigue, and stock-jobbers of every kind. The administration of the directors partook of their character, but was in a peculiar manner

influenced by their situation, the embarrassments of which were still further increased by war with the whole of Europe.

Whilst the republican plenipotentiaries were still negociating a peace with the emperor at Rastadt, the second coalition commenced its campaign. The treaty of Campo-Formio was nothing more than a suspension of hostilities between the republic and Austria, and England had no difficulty in engaging her in a new confederacy, in which all the European powers, with the exception of Prussia and Spain, took a part. The subsidies of the British cabinet, and the attractions of the West, decided Russia; the Porte and the Barbary states, embraced the confederacy on account of the invasion of Egypt; the empire, in order to recover the left bank of the Rhine, and the petty princes of Italy, for the purpose of destroying the new republics. They were discussing at Rastadt the treaty relative to the cession of the left bank of the Rhine, the navigation of that river, and the demolition of some fortresses on the right bank, when the Russians passed into Germany, and the Austrian army began to move. The French plenipotentiaries were taken by

surprise, and received orders to depart within twenty-four hours; they instantly obeyed, and, after having obtained safe conduct from the enemy's general, commenced their journey. At some distance from Rastadt they were stopped by a party of Austrian hussars, who having ascertained their names and titles, assassinated them: Bonnier and Roberjot were killed, and John de Bry was left for dead. This unexampled violation of the law of nations, a premeditated assassination of three men invested with a sacred character, excited universal horror. The legislative body indignantly decreed war against the governments to which the guilt of this enormous crime attached.

Hostilities had already commenced in Italy and upon the Rhine. The directory, apprised of the march of the Russian troops, and suspecting the intentions of Austria, obtained from the councils a law empowering them to raise recruits. The *military conscription* placed two hundred thousand young men at the disposition of the republic. This law, the consequences of which were incalculable, was the result of a more regular order of things. The levies in mass had been made

for the service of the revolution, the conscription became the legal service of the country.

The troops belonging to the most impatient powers, and who formed the vanguard of the coalition, had already commenced the attack. The king of Naples had advanced upon Rome, and the king of Sardinia had levied troops, and threatened the Ligurian republic; but not being strong enough to bear the shock of the French armies, they were easily vanquished. General Championnet, after a sanguinary victory, entered Naples, and the Lazzaroni, after defending the interior of the city for three days, were subdued, and the *Parthenopean republic* was proclaimed. General Joubert took possession of Turin, and when the new campaign opened, the whole of Italy was in the hands of the French.

The coalition, which had the advantage of the republic in preparations and in effective force, attacked it by the three great openings of Italy, Switzerland, and Holland. A strong Austrian force debouched in the duchy of Mantua, defeated Shérer twice upon the Adige, and was soon afterwards joined by the whimsical, and until then victorious, Suwarrow. Moreau succeeded Shérer, and

was, like him, defeated: he retreated on the side of Genoa, in order to protect the barrier of the Apennines, and to join the army of Naples commanded by Macdonald, who was also routed at Trébia. The confederates next directed their principal force against Switzerland. Some Prussian corps joined the archduke Charles, who had defeated Jourdan on the upper Rhine, and who was making preparations for crossing the Helvetian frontier. The duke of York at the same time landed in Holland with forty thousand Anglo-Russian troops. The small republics which protected France were invaded, and, after some new victories, the confederates were enabled to penetrate into the very seat of the revolution.

In the midst of these military disasters, to which was added the discontent of all parties, the elections of May 1799 [floréal, year 7], took place; they were, like those of the preceding year, republican. The directory was no longer possessed of sufficient strength to contend against public misfortunes and the animosity of parties. The retirement of Rewbell, who was succeeded by Sièyes, deprived it of the only man who could make

head against the storm, and introduced in his stead the most decided opponent of this obnoxious and worn-out government. The moderate party and the ultra-republicans concurred in demanding of the directors an account of the internal and external state of the republic.

The councils declared themselves permanent, and Barras deserted his colleagues. The animosity of the councils was directed solely against Treilhard, Merlin, and La Réveillère, the last supports of the old directory. They removed Treilhard, because the interval of a year had not elapsed between his legislative and directorial functions, as required by the constitution. The ex-minister of justice, Goheir, was immediately put in his place. The orators of the council next vigorously attacked Merlin and La Réveillère, whom, as they could not depose, they wished to compel to resign. The directors, who were thus menaced, sent a justificatory message to the councils, and proposed peace. On the 18th June (30 prairial), the republican Bertrand [du Calvados], ascended the tribune; and, after having examined the offers of the directors, proceeded in these

terms: "You have proposed a re-union; and I propose that you should consider whether you can still retain your offices. If you desire the welfare of the republic, you will not hesitate to decide. You have no power to do good: you will never have either the confidence of your colleagues, or that of the people, or that of the representatives, without which it is impossible for you to execute the laws. Thanks to the constitution, there already exists in the directory a majority which enjoys the confidence of the people, and of the national representatives. Why do you hesitate to restore unanimity both in design and principle, between the two first authorities of the state? You have no longer even the confidence of those vile flatterers who have hollowed out your political grave. Terminate your career by an act of devotion, which the sound hearts of republicans will alone know how to appreciate."

Merlin and La Réveillère, deprived of the support of government by the retirement of Rewbell, the deposition of Treilhard, and the desertion of Barras, and influenced by the demands of the councils as well as by patriotic motives, at length yielded to circum-

stances, and resigned the directorial authority. This victory, gained by the united efforts of the republicans and the moderate party, proved advantageous to both. The first introduced general Moulins into the directory, the latter, Roger Ducos. The councils, by the transaction of the 18th June, which disorganized the old government of the year 3, took their revenge against the directory for the 4th September [18 fructidor] and the 11th May [22 floréal]. At this period, each of the two great powers of the state had in its turn violated the constitution: the directory, in decimating the legislature; the legislature, in expelling the directory. It was hardly possible that this form of government, of which all parties had cause to complain, should have a prolonged existence.

Sièyes, after the successful issue of the 18th June, endeavoured to destroy what still remained of the government of the year 3, in order that he might establish a legal government upon another plan. He was a man of a capricious temper, and fond of system, but he possessed an accurate perception of what was required in different situations. He once more entered upon the theatre of

the revolution, but at a singular epoch, with the design of closing it by a definitive constitution. After having materially assisted in effecting the principal changes of 1789 by his motion of the 18th June, which transformed the states-general into a national assembly, and by his plan of internal organization, which substituted the departments for the provinces, he had ever since remained silent and passive. He had waited until such time as the measures for the public defence should again give place to measures for the defence of institutions. Appointed, under the directory, ambassador to Berlin, the continuance of the neutrality of Prussia was attributed to him. At his return, he accepted the office, which until then he had refused, of director, because Rewbell had retired from the government, and he believed that all parties were sufficiently tired to co-operate in a final pacification, and the establishment of liberty. For carrying his views into effect, he relied upon Roger Ducos, in the directory; upon the council of ancients, in the legislature; and out of doors, upon the moderate party and the middling class, who, after having wished for laws as a novelty, now

wished for repose as a novelty too. This party was desirous of establishing a firm and steady government, which should have neither retrospections nor enmities, and which should thenceforward satisfy all opinions and all interests.

As effects similar to those which had been produced, between the 14th and 27th July [9 thermidor], by the people, in conjunction with a part of the government, had since the 2nd October [13 vendémiare], been brought about by the army, Sièyes determined to avail himself of the latter. For this purpose it was necessary to have the assistance of a general, and he cast his eyes upon Joubert, who was put at the head of the army of the Alps, in order that he should first, by means of victories, and the liberation of Italy, gain a great political reputation.

The constitution of the year 3, however, was still supported by the two directors Gohier and Moulins, and by the council of five hundred, and out of doors by the party of the *Manège*. The decided republicans had assembled as a club in that hall in which the first assembly had held its sittings. The new club,

formed of the wreck of that of Salm, which had existed before the 4th September, of that of the Pantheon, which had existed at the commencement of the directory, and of the old society of Jacobins, professed republican principles with enthusiasm, but not the democratic opinions of the lower orders. Each of the two parties also possessed a share in the ministry, which had been renewed at the same time as the directory. Cambacérès had the department of justice; Quinette, the home department; Reinhard, who had been placed in office during the ministerial interregnum of Talleyrand, was minister of foreign relations; Robert Lindet, of the finances; Bourdon (of Vatry) of the marine; Bernadotte, of war; and Bourguignon, soon afterwards succeeded by Fouché (of Nantes) of police.

Barras, this time, remained neuter between the two divisions of the legislature, of the directory, and of the ministry. Perceiving that affairs were proceeding to a more considerable change than that of the 18th June, he imagined that the destruction of the republic would bring along with it the restoration of the Bourbons, and he began to treat with the pre-

tender, Louis XVIII. It appears that Barras, in negociating for the restoration of monarchy by his agent David Monnier, by no means forgot himself. He espoused nothing through conviction, and never failed to declare himself for the party which had the greatest chance of victory. After having been a democratic Mountainist on the 31st May; a re-actionary Mountainist on the 27th July [9 thermidor]; a revolutionary director against the royalists on the 4th September [18 fructidor]; an ultra-republican director against his old colleagues on the 18th June [30 prairial]; he now became a royalist director against the government of the year 3.

The faction which had been disconcerted by the 4th September and by the peace of the continent, had also resumed its courage. The military success of the new coalition, the law of the forced loan, and that of the hostages, which obliged each family of emigrants to give securities to the government, had induced the royalists of the south and west to take up arms. They reappeared in bands, which became every day more formidable, and which recommenced the petty but disastrous warfare of the *Chouans*. They expected the arrival of

the Russians, and believed in the speedy restoration of monarchy. This was the moment for a new contest between all parties. Each of them aspired to the inheritance of the expiring constitution, as was seen at the end of the conventional session. In France they are warned by a sort of political odour that a government is dying, and all parties immediately fly to the prey.

Happily for the republic, the war changed its aspect upon the two principal frontiers of the higher and lower Rhine. The allies, after having acquired Italy, attempted to penetrate into France through Switzerland and Holland; but their progress, until then victorious, was arrested by generals Masséna and Brune. Masséna advanced against Korsakof and Suwarrow, and in a series of grand combinations and consecutive victories, during twelve days, running first to Constance and then to Zurich, the Russians were repulsed and forced to retreat, and the coalition was thus disorganised. Brune also defeated the duke of York in Holland, and compelled him to re-embark, and to renounce his attempt at invasion. The army of Italy alone was less successful: Joubert, its general, was killed at the battle of Novi, whilst

charging the Austro-Russian army. But notwithstanding the defeat of Novi, this frontier, which was at a great distance from the centre of events, was not passed, but was skilfully defended by Championnet. The republican troops were themselves likely very soon to be in a situation to cross it; for after having been for a moment beaten, they began to resume their superiority at every fresh conflict, and once more commenced their career of victories. Europe, in giving by its repeated attacks more exercise to the military power, rendered it every day more formidable.

But nothing was changed at home, where divisions, discontent, and uneasiness remained as before. The contest between the moderate and the ultra republicans had become still more decided. Sièyes pursued his projects against the latter. He attacked the Jacobins on the anniversary of the 10th August, in the Champ de Mars. Lucien Bonaparte, who had obtained great influence in the council of five hundred, by his character, his talents, and the military importance of the conqueror of Italy and Egypt, presented a frightful picture of *terror* to the assembly, and declared that France was in danger of its return. About

this time, Sièyes effected the removal of Bernadotte; and Fouché, with his concurrence, closed the assembly of the *Manége*. The multitude, to whom it is only necessary to present the phantom of the past, in order to inspire it with dread, ranked themselves, in their apprehension of the return of the system of *terrors*, on the side of the moderate party; and the ultra-republicans failed in an attempt to get the country declared in danger, as at the end of the legislative assembly. Sièyes, after having lost Joubert, looked around for a general who would enter into his designs, one who would protect the republic, without becoming its oppressor. Hoche had been dead more than a year; Moreau no longer possessed the public esteem, on account of his equivocal conduct towards the directory before the 4th September, and of his sudden accusation of his old friend Pichegru, whose treason he had concealed for more than a year; Masséna was not at all a political general; and Bernadotte and Jourdan were devoted to the party of the *Manége*. Sièyes, finding himself in this situation of poverty, adjourned his political measure for want of a man.

Bonaparte had learned in the east the state

of France. His expedition, into the details of which I do not mean to enter, had been brilliant, but had produced no results. After having beaten the Mamelukes, and put an end to their domination in low and in high Egypt, he had advanced into Syria; but his failure in the siege of St. Jean d'Acre had compelled him to return to his first conquest. There, after having defeated an Ottoman army on the banks of Aboukir, so fatal the year before to the French fleet, he decided upon quitting this land of fame and of banishment, that he might render the new crisis in France subservient to his elevation. He left general Kléber in command of the army of the east, and crossed the Mediterranean, which was covered with English vessels, in a frigate. He landed at Fréjus on the 9th October 1799 (17 vendémiaire, year 8) nineteen days after the victory of Berghen, gained by Brune against the Anglo-Russians under the duke of York, and fourteen days after that of Zurich, gained by Masséna against the Austro-Russians, under Korsakof and Suwarrow. He made a rapid and triumphal progress from the coast of the Mediterranean to Paris. His expedition, which had the appearance of a fabulous story, asto-

nished all France, and added still more to a reputation which the conquest of Italy had already raised to a great height. These two enterprises had distinguished him from all the other generals of the republic. The remoteness of the theatre upon which he had fought had already allowed him to prepare the way for his career of independence and authority. A victorious general, an acknowledged diplomatist, the founder of republics, he had treated all interests with address, all creeds with moderation. Preparing his plans of ambition at a distance from the capital, he had taken care not to make himself the partisan of any system; and he had so managed all parties, as to effect his elevation with their consent. Ever since his victories in Italy, he had entertained thoughts of usurpation. If the directory had been vanquished by the council on the 4th September (18 fructidor) he proposed to march against the latter with his army, and seize the protectorate of the republic. Finding, after the 4th September, that the directory was too powerful, and the inactive state of the continent too dangerous for him, he accepted the expedition to Egypt, that he might not fall into obscurity and be forgotten.

On the news of the disorganization of the directory on the 18th June, he repaired with all possible expedition to the seat of action.

His arrival excited the enthusiasm of the moderate part of the nation; he received general congratulations, and was emulously sought after by all the different parties who were equally anxious to gain him. The generals, the directors, the deputies, even the republicans of the *Manége*, waited upon him, and sounded him. They amused him with feasts and entertainments; he appeared grave, simple, observing, and not very eager; he already possessed the familiarity of a superior, and displayed involuntary habits of command. Notwithstanding his apparent want of eagerness, and the absence of overtures, it was manifest that he entertained ulterior designs: without saying it, he allowed it to be divined; for, in order to accomplish a thing, it is necessary that it should be expected. He could not rely upon the republicans of the *Manége*, who wished neither for a stroke of state policy, nor a dictator; and as to Sièyes, his apprehension that Bonaparte would be too ambitious to enter into his con-

stitutional views, was not without foundation. But, through the importunity of common friends, an interview at length took place, which terminated in an alliance. On the 5th November [15 brumaire] they arranged their plan of attack against the constitution of the year 3. Sièyes undertook to prepare the councils by the *commissions of inspectors*, who had an unlimited confidence in him. Bonaparte was to gain over the generals and the different bodies of troops, which were stationed at Paris, and who displayed much enthusiasm and devotion for his person. They agreed to convoke an extraordinary meeting of the most moderate members of the councils; to lay before the councils a description of the public dangers; and, after exhibiting to them the menacing position of the Jacobins, to demand the removal of the legislative body to St. Cloud, and the appointment of general Bonaparte to the command of the armed force, as the only man who could save the country. They then proposed, by means of the new military power, to effect the disorganization of the directory and the momentary dissolution of the legislative body.

The morning of the 8th November [18 brumaire] was appointed for carrying this enterprise into effect.

For the three intervening days the secret was faithfully kept. Barras, Moulins, and Gohier, who formed the majority of the directory, of which the last was then president, might, by anticipating the conspirators, as on the 4th September, have disconcerted their projects. But they thought of their own hopes and not of other persons' schemes. On the morning of the 8th November, the members of the ancients were convoked in an unusual manner by the *inspectors:* they repaired to the Tuileries, and entered on their session about seven o'clock, under the presidency of Lemercier. Cornudet, Lebrun, and Fargues, three of the most influencial conspirators in the council, presented a most alarming picture of the public situation; they assured it that the Jacobins were coming in crowds from all the departments, that they wished to re-establish the revolutionary government, and that *terror* would again desolate the republic, if the council had not the courage and the wisdom to prevent its return. Another conspirator Regnier (de la Meurthe)

proposed that the ancients, who were already giving way, should, by virtue of the power vested in them by the constitution, transfer the seat of the legislative body to St. Cloud, appoint Bonaparte to the command of the 17th military division, and instruct him to superintend the removal. Either the whole council was an accomplice of this manœuvre, or was struck by a real panic after so precipitate a meeting, and such alarming speeches; however this may be, it granted everything that the conspirators required.

Bonaparte waited impatiently in his house, in the street Mont-Blanc, for the result of this discussion; he was surrounded by generals, by the commandant of the guard of the directory, Lefèvre, and three regiments of cavalry, which he was about to review. The decree of the council of ancients, which was passed at eight o'clock, was brought to him by a messenger of state at half-past. He received the congratulations of those who formed his *cortége*, and the officers drew their swords in token of fidelity. He placed himself at their head, and they marched to the Tuileries, where he had no sooner arrived than he repaired to the bar of the council of ancients,

took the oath of fidelity, and named Lefèvre, the commandant of the directorial guard, for his lieutenant.

This, however, was only the beginning of his success; for, although he was at the head of the military power, the authority of the directory and the legislative power of the councils still existed. In the contest which must infallibly ensue, it was not clear that the grand, and until then victorious, energy of the revolution, would not prevail. Sièyes and Roger-Ducos proceeded from the Luxembourg to the legislative and military camp of the Tuileries, and delivered in their resignation. Barras, Moulins, and Gohier, being apprised, though at a late hour, of what was passing, attempted to use their authority, and secure the protection of their guard; but the latter having, through Bonaparte, received intelligence of the decree of the ancients, refused to obey them. Barras became discouraged, sent in his resignation, and set out for his estate of Grosbois. The directory was in fact dissolved; and there was one antagonist less in the contest. The council of five hundred and Bonaparte alone remained in the field.

The decree of the council of ancients, and the proclamations of Bonaparte, were posted on the walls of Paris, the inhabitants of which experienced that agitation which always accompanies extraordinary events. The republicans felt, and not without reason, serious apprehensions for liberty. But when they manifested alarm as to the designs of Bonaparte, in whom they beheld a Cæsar or a Cromwell, they received a reply in the words of the general: *Bad parts, worn-out parts, unworthy of a man of sense, if not of an honest man. It would be sacrilegious to think of attempts against the representative government, in an age of intelligence and liberty. None but a fool would wish wantonly to lose the stake of the republic against royalty, after having supported it with some danger as well as credit.*" Nevertheless the importance which he assumed in his proclamations was but a bad omen; and he also reproached the directory with the situation of France in a most extraordinary manner. "What have you done," said he, "with that France which I left you so brilliant? I left you peace, I have found war; I left you victories, I have found defeats; I left you the millions of Italy, and I have found nothing

but spoliation and misery. What have you done with the hundred thousand Frenchmen whom I knew, all of them my companions in glory? They are dead...This state of things cannot last: before three years it will lead us to despotism." It was the first time during the last ten years, that one man referred everything to himself, and demanded an account of the republic as of his own estate. One is grievously surprised at seeing a single individual, brought forward by the revolution, thus introduce himself into the inheritance so laboriously acquired by a whole people.

On the 9th November [19 brumaire] the members of the council repaired to St. Cloud. Thither also Sièyes and Roger-Ducos accompanied Bonaparte, with the view of opposing the designs of the conspirators.

Sièyes, who understood the tactics of revolutions, proposed, in order to secure the success of their scheme, that their chiefs should be provisionally arrested, and that none but the moderate party should be admitted into the councils; but Bonaparte refused to accede to this proposal; for being no party man, and having hitherto only acted and conquered with soldiers, he thought that he could move

the legislative body like an army by the word of command. The gallery of Mars was prepared for the council of ancients; the Orangery for that of the five hundred. A considerable armed force surrounded the seat of the legislature, as the mob on the 2nd June surrounded the convention. The republicans assembled in groups in the gardens, and waited for the opening of the session: they were agitated with a generous indignation against the military brutality with which they were threatened, and communicated to each other their projects of resistance. The young general, followed by a few grenadiers, traversed the courts and the apartments, and prematurely yielding to his natural character, he said, like the twentieth king of a dynasty: "*I will have no more factions: there must be an end of them: I positively will have no more of them.*" About two o'clock in the afternoon the councils assembled in their respective halls, to the sound of instruments which played the air of *la Marseillaise.*

As soon as the session opened, Emile Gaudin, one of the conspirators, ascended the tribune of the five hundred, and proposed a vote of thanks to the council of the ancients

for the measures which it had adopted, and that its opinion should be requested as to the means of saving the republic. This motion became the signal of the most violent tumult; cries arose against Gaudin from all sides of the hall. The republican deputies besieged the tribune and the chair in which Lucien Bonaparte presided. The conspirators Cabanis, Boulay (de la Meurthe), Chazal, Gaudin, Lucien, &c. grew pale upon their seats. After a protracted commotion, amidst which no one could be heard, order was for a moment restored, and Delbred proposed that they should renew the oath to the constitution of the year 3: no voice being raised against this motion, which at such a juncture was vital, the oath was taken with a burst of enthusiasm, and an unanimity which endangered the conspiracy.

Bonaparte being informed of what was passing in the council of five hundred, and seeing himself in great peril of desertion and defeat, presented himself before the council of ancients. If the latter, which inclined towards the conspiracy, was led away by the enthusiasm of the younger council, he was lost. "Representatives of the people!" said

he, "you are placed in no ordinary circumstances; you are upon a precipice. Yesterday, when you summoned me to notify the decree of removal, and entrusted me with the execution of it, I was at ease: I immediately assembled my comrades; we flew to your assistance. Well, to-day I am overwhelmed with calumnies. They talk of Cæsar, they talk of Cromwell, they speak of military government! If I had wished to oppress the liberties of my country I should not have submitted to the orders you gave me; I should not have had occasion to receive this authority from your hands. Representatives of the people! I swear to you that the country has not a more zealous defender than myself; but it is upon you that its safety depends. The government no longer exists: four of the directors have delivered in their resignation; the fifth (Barras) has been placed under *surveillance* for security; the council of five hundred is divided; the council of ancients alone remains. Let it adopt the necessary measures; let it but speak, I am here to execute them. Let us save liberty, let us save equality." A republican member (Linglet) then rose and ad-

dressed him: "General, we applaud what you say: swear then, with us, obedience to the constitution of the year 3, which can alone maintain the republic." It had been all over with him if this proposition had been hailed with the same enthusiasm as it was in the council of five hundred. It however surprised the council, and Bonaparte was for a moment disconcerted. But he soon resumed: "The constitution of the year 3! you no longer have it. You violated it on the 4th September [18 fructidor] you violated it on the 11th May [22 floréal]. The constitution! it is invoked by all factions, and it has been violated by all; it cannot be a means of safety to us, because it no longer possesses the respect of anybody: the constitution being violated, we must have another compact, and other guarantees." The council applauded the reproaches which Bonaparte addressed to it, and rose up as a sign of their approbation.

Bonaparte, deceived by the easy success which his demeanour had obtained for him in the council of ancients, imagined that his presence alone would appease the stormy council of five hundred. Thither he repaired at the head of some grenadiers, whom he

left at the door, but in the interior of the hall, and he advanced alone with his hat in his hand. At the sight of the bayonets the whole council rose by a sudden impulse. Conceiving that his entrance was the signal of military violence, they all joined in the cry *Outlaw him! Down with the dictator!* Many members rushed towards him, and Bigonet seizing him by the arms: "*What are you doing, rash man!*" said he; "*retire, you violate the sanctuary of the law.*" Bonaparte turned pale, became perturbed, retired, and was carried off by the grenadiers who had served him as an escort.

The tumultuous agitation of the council did not cease with his disappearance. All the members spoke at once, every one proposed measures of public safety and defence. They overwhelmed Lucien Bonaparte with reproaches; he justified his brother, but with timidity. After many efforts he at last succeeded in getting to the tribune, and inviting the council to judge his brother with less rigour. He assured them he had no design against liberty; he recalled his services: but many voices were instantly heard to exclaim, *He has destroyed all the merit of them: Down*

with the dictator! Down with the tyrants! The tumult then became more violent than ever, and they demanded the outlawry of general Bonaparte. "*What,*" said Lucien, "*you would have me pronounce sentence of outlawry against my brother!*"—"*Yes, yes, outlawry, that is for tyrants!*" Amidst this confusion it was proposed, and put to the vote, that the council should be permanent, that it should instantly repair to its palace in Paris; that the troops assembled at St. Cloud should form part of the guard of the legislative body, and that the command of them should be given to Bernadotte. Lucien, astounded by all these propositions, and by the *outlawry* which he imagined was adopted like the others, quitted the chair, ascended the tribune, and said in the greatest agitation: "Since I have not been able to obtain a hearing in this assembly, I lay down with a deep sense of outraged dignity the ensigns of the popular magistracy." At the same time he took off his cap, his cloak, and his scarf.

In the meantime, Bonaparte had experienced some difficulty in effecting his retreat from the council of five hundred, in order to recover himself from his perturbation. Little

accustomed to popular scenes, he was sensibly affected by the repulse he had so unexpectedly received. His officers surrounded him; and Sièyes, who had had more revolutionary practice than himself, advised him to lose no time, but instantly to employ force. General Lefèbvre immediately gave orders to bring off Lucien from the council. A detachment entered the hall, proceeded to the chair which Lucien again occupied, took him into their ranks, and returned with him into the midst of the troops. As soon as Lucien came out, he mounted on horseback by the side of his brother, and although deprived of his legal character, he harangued the troops, as president. In concert with Bonaparte, he invented the fable, so often since repeated, of poniards being raised against the general in the council of five hundred, and he exclaimed, "Citizen soldiers! the president of the council of five hundred declares to you that the vast majority of the council is at this moment under the dread of some representatives, who with daggers besiege the tribune, threaten their colleagues with death, and carry on the most dreadful deliberations!.....General, and you, soldiers, and all ye citizens! you will only

acknowledge as the legislators of France those who are willing to repair to me. As to those who remain in the Orangery, let them be driven out by force. Those brigands are no longer the representatives of the people, but the representatives of the poniard!" After this furious incentive, addressed to the soldiery by a conspiring president, who, according to custom, calumniated those whom he wished to proscribe, Bonaparte took up the speech. "Soldiers!" said he, "I have led you to victory; may I rely upon you?"—"Yes, yes! Long live the general!"—"Soldiers! there was reason to believe that the council would save the country; it has, on the contrary, given itself up to discord: the factious endeavour to excite it against me. Soldiers! may I rely upon you?"—"Yes, yes! Long live Bonaparte!"—"Well then, I will bring them to reason." He instantly commanded some superior officers, who surrounded him, to clear the hall of the five hundred.

The council, after the departure of Lucien, became a prey to extreme anxiety and the greatest irresolution. Some of the members proposed that they should issue forth in a body and seek an asylum in the midst of the

people of Paris. Others were anxious that the national representatives should not abandon their post, but should withstand the interference of military violence to the last. During this discussion, a troop of grenadiers slowly entered the hall, and the officer who commanded it apprised the council that it must disperse. The deputy Prudhon reminded the officers and soldiers of the respect due to the chosen representatives of the people, and general Jourdan depicted to them the enormity of such an attempt. The troop remained for an instant undecided; but a reinforcement entered in close column, and general Leclerc exclaimed, "In the name of general Bonaparte, the legislative body is dissolved; let all good citizens retire. Grenadiers, forward!" Cries of indignation arose from every seat in the hall, but they were drowned by the sound of drums. The grenadiers, presenting bayonets, advanced slowly along the whole length of the Orangery, and thus drove the members before them, who still however made the air ring with the cry of "Long live the republic!" At half-past five o'clock of the 9th November 1799 [19 brumaire, year 8] there was no longer a national representation.

Thus was consummated this last violation of law, this final blow against liberty; and from this period brute force commenced its dominion. The 8th November [18 brumaire] was in effect another 31st May as between the army and the representatives, except that it was not directed against a party but against the popular power. On that day the revolution expired; but it is right that we should distinguish the 18 brumaire from the consequences which resulted from it. It might at that time have been supposed that the army was merely an auxiliary of the revolution, as on the 5th October [13 vendémiaire], and the 4th September [18 fructidor], and that this indispensable change would not solely turn to the advantage of a single individual, who would soon convert France into a regiment, and who would allow nothing to be heard in the world, which until then had been agitated by so great a moral commotion, but the march of his army and the communication of his will.

THE CONSULATE.

CHAPTER XIV.

Hopes of the different parties after the 18 brumaire.—The provisional government.—The constitution of Sièyes; it is wholly changed in the constitution of the year 8.—Formation of the government; pacific designs of Bonaparte.—Campaign of Italy; victory of Marengo.—The general peace; upon the continent by the treaty of Luneville, with England by the treaty of Amiens.—Amalgamation of the parties; internal prosperity of France.—Ambitious system of the first consul; he constitutes the clergy anew in state, by the concordat of 1802; he creates an order of military chivalry by means of the Legion of Honour; he completes this order of things by the consulate for life.—Hostilities with England are resumed.—Conspiracy of Georges and Pichegru.—The war and the attempts of the royalists furnish a pretext for establishing the empire.—Napoleon Bonaparte nominated hereditary emperor; is consecrated by the Pope the 2nd December 1804, in the church of Notre-Dame.—Successive abandonment of the revolution, and the progress of absolute empire during the four years of the consulate.

THE 18 brumaire had an immense popularity. They did not see in this event the elevation of an individual above the counsels of the

people; they did not perceive the termination of the grand movement of the 14th July, which had commenced the national existence. The 18 brumaire presented itself only under the aspect of hope and restoration. Although the nation was very much exhausted, very little capable of defending a sovereignty committed to it, and which had become the object even of its own mockery since it had been exercised by the dregs of the people, nevertheless, so little did it apprehend a despotism, that it saw no one in the state capable of enslaving it. They felt the necessity of being renovated under a skilful director, and Bonaparte, a great man and a victorious general, was suited to their wishes.

Hence, with the exception of the directorial republicans, the last measure was unanimously approved. The infringement of the laws and measures of violence against the assemblies had been so frequent during the revolution, that the people had become habituated to judge of them by their consequences rather than by their legitimacy. From the party of Sièyes to that of the royalists of 1788, every one congratulated himself on the future practical advantages of this change. The moderate

constitutionalists believed that a defined liberty would be established; the royalists flattered themselves with hope, by comparing our revolution, with very little wisdom certainly, to the English revolution of 1660, that Bonaparte was playing the part of Monk, and that he would restore the monarchy of the Bourbons; the mass, ignorant and desirous of repose, reckoned upon the return of order under a powerful protector; the proscribed and the ambitious expected their amnesty or their elevation. During the three months that followed the 18 brumaire, approbation and hope were general. A provisional government was nominated, consisting of three consuls, Bonaparte, Sièyes, and Roger-Ducos, as well as two legislative commissions, charged with preparing the constitution, and an order of things which should be definitive.

The consuls of the two commissions were installed 21 brumaire [8th October]. This provisional government abolished the law upon hostages and the forced loan; it permitted the return of the priests proscribed since the 18 fructidor; it sent out of the prisons and the country, the emigrants whom shipwreck had cast upon the coasts of Cala[illegible]

and who for four years were captive in France, and exposed to the severe penalties enacted against the armed emigration. All these measures were very favourably received. But opinion revolted at a proscription exercised against the extreme republicans. Thirty-seven of them were condemned to transportation to Guyana, and twenty-one to be put under surveillance in the department of the Lower Charante, by a simple resolution of the consuls upon the report of the minister of police. The nation did not respect the men who tried to weaken the hands of government, but it raised its remonstrance against an act as arbitrary as it was unjust. Thus the consuls recoiled before their own work; they mitigated the banishment into simple surveillance, and they soon annulled even the surveillance.

Dissension was not long in breaking out among the authors of the 18 brumaire, and continued during the period of their provisional authority; it was little heard of, because it took place within the bosom of the legislative commissions. It originated in the new constitution. Sieyes and Bonaparte could not understand

each other on this subject; the one wished to legislate for France, the other to govern it.

The project of the constitution of Sièyes, which was disfigured in the consular constitution of the year 8, is worthy of being known, if it were only as a legislative curiosity.* Sièyes distributed France into three political divisions; the commune, the province or department, and the state. Each had it powers of administration and of judicature, arranged in hierarchic order. The first, the municipalities and the tribunals of peace and of instance; the second, the popular prefectures and the tribunals of appeal; and the third, the central government and the court of cassation. To fill the different functions of the commune, the department, and the state, there were three sorts of *notability*, the members of which were only simple candidates, presented by the people.

* This constitution has been communicated to us by a member of the convention, who, from many conversations with Sièyes upon this subject, has been able to trace the springs of his hitherto very imperfectly understood political machine. There is at the end of the volume a table, which represents them in detail and in a very striking manner.

The executive power resided in the *proclaimer-general*, a superior functionary, irremovable, irresponsible; charged with representing the nation abroad, and with the formation of the government; in a deliberating council of state, and in a responsible ministry. The proclaimer-elector chose from the list of candidature all the judges, from the tribunals of peace up to the court of cassation; all the administrators, from the mayors up to the ministers. But he was himself incapable of governing; the power was directed by the council of state, and put in operation by the minister.

The legislature differed materially from the form hitherto established; it ceased to be a deliberating assembly, to become a judicial court. In its presence, *the council of state* in the name of the government, and the *tribunate* in the name of the people, pleaded their respective projects. Its sentence was the law. Sièyes, as it seems, had for his object to prevent the violent usurpation of parties, and by placing the sovereignty entirely in the people, to find the limits of it in itself. This intention is manifested in the complicated operation of his political machine. The pri-

mary assemblies, composed of the tenth of the population, nominated the *communal list of candidature*. Colleges of electors, also nominated by them, chose from the *communal list* the superior list of provincial candidates, and from the *provincial list*, the list of national candidates. In everything which concerned the government, there was a reciprocal control. The proclaimer-general took his functionaries from among the candidates presented by the people, and the people could depose the functionaries by excluding them from the lists of candidature; which were to be renewed, the first every two years, the second every five years, and the third every ten years. But the proclaimer-elector had no share in the nomination of the tribunes and the legislators, whose attributes were purely popular.

Nevertheless, to place a counterpoise in the heart of this authority itself, Sièyes separated the initiation and the discussion of the law, which resided in the tribunate, from its adoption, which belonged to the legislative assembly. But, besides these diverse prerogatives, the legislative body and the tribunate were not elected in the same manner. The tribunate consisted, of right, of the first hundred

members of the national list, while the legislative body was chosen directly by the electoral colleges. As the tribunes would naturally be more active, more turbulent, more popular, they were nominated for life and by a dilatory process, in order that they might not attain their station in a moment of passion, and, as we have seen hitherto in most assemblies, with projects of change and indignation. The same dangers not attaching to the other assembly, which had only to give a calm and disinterested judgment on the law, its election was immediate, and its authority temporary.

Finally, there existed, as a complement of all the other powers, a conservatory body, incapable of making any order, incapable of acting, and simply destined to provide for the regular existence of the state. This body was the *constitutionary jury* or conservative senate; it was for the political law what the court of cassation was for the civil law. The tribunate or the council of state sued for its interposition when the sentence of the legislative body was not conformable to the constitution. It had, moreover, the power of calling into its own body any leader of government who was too

ambitious, or any tribune who was too popular, by the *right of absorption*, and when he was a senator, he became incapable of holding any other function. In this manner, it held a double guard over the safety of the republic, by the maintenance of the fundamental laws, and by the protection of liberty against the ambitious.

Whatever we may think of the constitution, which appears too finely balanced to be practicable, we cannot deny the prodigious force of mind and even the great practical knowledge which dictated it. But Sièyes took too little account of human passions; he gave mankind too much credit for their reasonableness and their pliability. He wished, by skilful inventions, to avoid the abuses of human constitutions, and to close all the avenues to death, that is, to despotism, from whatever quarter it might come. I have little faith in the efficacy of constitutions; I believe in such a season, only in the power of parties, in their domination, and in their occasional agreement: but I acknowledge also that, if ever a constitution was adapted to its epoch, it was that of Sièyes to France in the year 8.

After the experience of ten years, which

had shewn only exclusive dominations; after the transits, always violent, from the constitutionalists of 1789 to the Girondists, from the Girondists to the Mountainists, from the Mountainists to the Reactors, from the Reactors to the directory, from the directory to the councils; from the councils to military force, it was impossible to combine more repose and more of public life than in it. The people were wearied of worn-out constitutions, and that of Sièyes was new: they no longer wished for exclusive men, and he interdicted, by the elaboration of votes, the sudden arrival, either of counter-revolutionists, as at the commencement of the directory, or of ardent democrats, as at the end of this government. It was a constitution of moderate men, proper to terminate the revolution, and to settle a people. But from this very circumstance that it was a constitution of moderate men; from this very circumstance that the parties had no longer sufficient ardour to demand a law of domination, there would necessarily be found a man more powerful than these depressed parties and the moderate legislators, who would refuse this law, or would deceive them

by accepting it. This was precisely what happened.

Bonaparte assisted at the deliberations of the constituent committee, he seized with his instincts of power whatever there was in the ideas of Sièyes capable of serving his projects, and he rejected the rest. Sièyes destined for him the functions of grand elector, with six millions of revenue, a guard of three thousand men; the palace of Versailles to live in, and the representation of the republic abroad. But the real government was to be in two consuls, one of war, the other of peace, of whom Sièyes did not think in the year 3, but whom he adopted in the year 8, doubtless to accommodate himself to the ideas of the times. This insignificant magistracy of elector-general was far from satisfying the notions of Bonaparte. "And how could you imagine," said he, "that a man of some talent, and not destitute of fame, would play the part of a pig to fatten on a few millions?" From this moment there was no more dispute; Roger-Ducos, and the greater part of the members of the committee declaring themselves for Bonaparte; Sièyes, who abhorred discussion,

either could not, or would not, defend his ideas. He saw that the laws, the people, France, were at the mercy of a man whom he had contributed to raise.

The 4th December 1799 [nivose, in the year 8] forty-five days after the 18 brumaire, the constitution of the year 8 was published; it was composed of the wreck of that of Sièyes, become a constitution of slavery. The government was placed in the hands of a first consul, who had for seconds two consuls, with a voice in council. The senate, primitively chosen by the consuls, itself chose from the list of national candidates the members of the tribunate and the legislative body. The government alone had the initiation of laws. Thus, there was an end of the body of electors, who nominated the candidates of the different lists, the tribunes of the legislators; an end of the independent tribunes, who pleaded the cause of the people before the legislative assembly; an end of the legislative assembly sprung immediately from the body of the nation, and which was accountable only to it; finally, an end of the body politic. Instead of all this, there existed a consul omnipotent, having the disposal of the army, and of

power, a general and a dictator; a council of state destined to place itself in the front rank of usurpation; finally, a senate of twenty-four members, whose single function was to abrogate the influence of the people, to choose tribunes without authority, and legislators who should be silent. Life passed from the nation to the government. The constitution of Sièyes served as the pretext for a bad order of things. It is worthy of remark, that up to the year 8 all the constitutions had been derived from the social contract, and that, subsequently, up to the year 1814, they were all derived from the constitution of Sièyes.

The new government was regularly installed. Bonaparte was first consul; and he associated with himself as second and third consuls, Cambacérès, former member of the *Plain* of the convention, and Lebrun, the former co-operator with the chancellor Maupeou; by means of them he reckoned upon influencing the revolutionists and the moderate royalists. It was also with this view that the ex-archbishop Talleyrand, and the ex-mountainist Fouché were made ministers of foreign affairs and of police. Sièyes had

great repugnance to making use of Fouché; but Bonaparte wished it. *We shall form,* said he, *a new epoch; we must remember in the past only the good, and forget the bad.* Little did it concern him under what banner they had hitherto served, provided they ranged themselves under his own, and that they summoned around it the ancient supporters of royalism or the revolution.

The two new consuls, and those who were going out, nominated, without waiting for the lists of eligibility, sixty senators; the senators nominated a hundred tribunes and three hundred legislators; and the authors of the 18 brumaire distributed the functions of the state as the spoils of their victory. Nevertheless, it is but justice to say, that the moderate liberal party prevailed in this division of power, and that so much influence did it preserve, that the government of Bonaparte was mild, republican, and conducive to the general prosperity; the constitution of the year 8, submitted to the acceptance of the people, was approved by three millions eleven thousand and seven citizens. That of 1793 had obtained a million eight hundred and one thousand nine hundred and eighteen suf-

frages; and that of the year 3, a million fifty-seven thousand three hundred and eighty-six. The new law satisfied the mass of the population, which was moderate, and less anxious about its guarantees than its repose; while the code of 1793 had found partisans only among the lower class; and that of the year 3 had been equally resisted by the democrats and the royalists. The constitution of 1791 had alone obtained a general approbation, and, without having been subjected to individual acceptation, its observance had been sworn to by entire France.

The first consul, to satisfy the wish of the republic, made proposals of peace to England, which she refused. He was naturally anxious to put on the appearance of moderation, and to give to his government, before negociation, the lustre of new victories. The continuation of war was therefore decided; and the consuls issued a proclamation, remarkable for being addressed to a new class of national feelings. Hitherto France had been summoned to arms, for the defence of liberty; the consuls now began to rouse it in the name of honour. "Frenchmen! You desire peace: your government desires it even more anxi-

ously; its first wishes, its constant efforts, have been for peace. The English ministry reject our offers; the English ministry has betrayed the secret of its horrible policy, to sever France, to destroy its marine and its harbours, to blot it from the map of Europe, or degrade it to the rank of secondary powers; to keep all the nations of Europe separated by divisions, to monopolize the commerce of them all, and enrich itself with their spoils. It is to obtain these frightful successes that England expends her treasures, lavishes her promises, multiplies her intrigues. It is for you to command peace: to command it, we must have money, military stores, soldiers; all should be eager to pay the tribute which they owe to the common defence! The young should rush to enrol themselves in the ranks! It is no longer a question of faction! It is no longer for the choice of tyrants that they are going to arm: it is for the guarantee of all that they hold dear; it is for the honour of France; it is for the sacred interests of humanity!"

Holland and Switzerland had been sheltered from invasion in the preceding campaign. The first consul assembled all his forces upon the Rhine and the Alps. He gave the com-

mand of the army of the Rhone to Moreau, and marched himself into Italy. He started on the 6th May 1800 [16 floréal, in the year 8] for this brilliant campaign, which lasted only forty days. It was important to him not to be long absent from Paris at the *début* of his power, and especially not to leave the campaign undecided. Field-marshal Mélas had a hundred and thirty thousand men under arms; he occupied the whole of Italy. The republican army which was opposed to him did not amount to forty thousand men. He left lieutenant Ott, the field-marshal, with thirty thousand men before Genoa, and marched against the division under general Suchet. He entered Nice, prepared to pass the Var, and penetrate into Provence. It was then that Bonaparte crossed the Great St. Bernard at the head of an army of reserve of forty thousand men; descended upon Italy on the rear of Mélas, entered Milan on the 2d June [16 prairial] and placed the Austrians between Suchet and himself. Mélas, whose line of operations was thus intersected, returned rapidly upon Nice, and from thence upon Turin; he established his head-quarters at Alexandria, and determined to renew his communications by

a battle. On the 9th June, at Montebello, the republican army obtained a victory, the glorious harbinger of greater successes, the credit of which was principally due to general Lannes. But it was on the 14th June [25 prairial] that the fate of Italy was decided on the plains of Marengo. The Austrians were crushed. Unable to force the passage of the Bormid a by a victory, they were now, without the power to retreat, placed between the army of Suchet and that of the first consul. On the 15th they obtained permission to retire beyond Mantua, on the condition of surrendering all the towns in Piedmont and Lombardy, and the dominions of the Pope in that quarter; and thus the victory of Marengo was worth the possession of the whole of Italy.

Eighteen days after, Bonaparte returned to Paris. He was received with the testimonies of admiration which the marvellous activity of these decisive victories had excited. The enthusiasm was universal; there was a spontaneous illumination; and the multitude rushed to the Tuileries to catch a glimpse of him. The public rejoicings were redoubled by the hope of an approaching peace. The first consul assisted, on the 25 messidor, at the anni-

versary festival of the 14th July. When the officers presented him with the colours captured from the enemy, he said to them, "Tell the soldiers, on your return to the camp, that by the arrival of the epoch of the 1st vendémiaire, on this spot where we now celebrate the anniversary of the republic, the French people expect either the publication of peace, or, if the enemy throw invincible obstacles in the way of it, new colours the reward of new victories." But they were compelled to wait a little longer for the peace.

During the interval from the battle of Marengo to the general pacification, the first consul was principally occupied in settling the people, in diminishing the numbers of the discontented, and in restoring to the state the displaced factions. He was very complaisant to the parties who renounced their systems, and very prodigal of his favours to the leaders who renounced their parties. As generally happens in a period of selfishness and concession, he had no difficulty in accomplishing his projects. Already the proscribed of the 18 fructidor had been recalled, with the exception of some royalist conspirators, as Pichegru, Willot, &c. Bonaparte employed very soon

even such of the banished, as Portalis, Simeon, Barbé-Marbois, who had shown themselves anti-conventional rather than anti-revolutionary. He had also gained over some opponents of a different description. The last leaders of La Vendée, the famous Bernier, curate of Saint-Lô, who had so vigorously assisted every insurrection, Chatillon, d'Autichamp, and Suzannet, had made their peace by the treaty of Montluçon (17th Jan. 1800). He addressed himself also to the leaders of the Breton bands, Georges Cadoudal, Frotté, Leprévelaye, and Bourmont. The two last alone consented to submit. Frotté was surprised and shot, and Georges, vanquished at Grand-Champ by general Brune, capitulated. The war of the west was finally terminated.

But some of the *Chouans*, who had taken refuge in England, and who no longer had any hope but in the death of him in whom was concentrated the powers of the revolution, projected his assassination. A party of them having landed on the coast of France, proceeded secretly to Paris. As it was not easy to approach the first consul, they devised a scheme which was truly horrible. On the 3 nivose, at eight o'clock in the evening, Bonaparte was to go to the opera, by the

street Saint-Nicaise. The conspirators placed a cask of powder in a small cart which interrupted the passage; and Saint-Régent, one of them, was to set fire to it on receiving the signal of the approach of the first consul. At the time appointed, Bonaparte proceeded from the Tuileries, and traversed the street Saint-Nicaise. His coachman had the dexterity to pass between the cart and the wall; but the fire had been already put to the match, and the carriage had scarcely reached the end of the street, when the *infernal machine* exploded, covered the quarter of Saint-Nicaise with ruins, shook the carriage, and broke its windows to atoms.

The police, thus taken by surprise, though under the direction of Fouché, ascribed this conspiracy to the democrats, against whom the first consul had a far bitterer antipathy than against the *Chouans*. Many of them were thrown into prison, and one hundred and thirty were banished by a simple *senatus consultum*, demanded and obtained in the night. The real authors of the plot were, nevertheless, finally discovered, and certain of them were condemned to death. The consul created on this occasion special military tribunals. The constitutional party separated itself from him

more decidedly, and began its energetic but useless opposition. Lanjuinais, Grégoire, who had courageouly resisted the extreme party in the convention; Garat, Lambrechts, Lenoir-Laroche, Cabanis, &c. combated in the senate the illegal proscription of one hundred and thirty democrats: and the tribunes, Isnard, Daunau, Chénier, Benjamin Constant, Bailleul, Chazal, &c. roused themselves to the special courts. But the peace came, and these encroachments of power were forgotten.

The Austrians, vanquished at Marengo, and defeated in Germany by Moreau, determined to sue for peace. On the 8th January 1801, the republic, the cabinet of Vienna, and the Empire, concluded the treaty of Luneville. Austria ratified all the conditions of the treaty of Campo-Formio, and ceded, moreover, Tuscany to the young duke of Parma. The Empire recognized the independence of the Batavian, Helvetian, Ligurian, and Cisalpine republics. The pacification now became general, by the treaty of Florence (18th February 1801) with the king of Naples, who ceded the isle of Elba, and the principality of Piombino; by the treaty of Madrid (29th September 1801) with Portugal; by the

treaty of Paris (8th October 1801) with the emperor of Russia; finally, by the *preliminaries* (9th October 1801) with the Ottoman Porte. The continent, by laying down arms, drove England to a momentary peace. Pitt, Dundas, and Lord Grenville, who had kept up these sanguinary divisions, ceased to be ministers, when their system could be no longer followed. The English opposition replaced them; and, on the 25th March 1802, the treaty of Amiens achieved the pacification of the world. England consented to all the continental acquisitions of the French republic, recognized the existence of the secondary republics, and restored our colonies.

During the maritime war with England, the French marine was almost entirely ruined. Three hundred and forty vessels had been taken or destroyed, and almost all the colonies had fallen into the hands of the English. That of St. Domingo, the most important of them all, after having shaken off the yoke of the whites, had continued the American revolution, which commencing with the colonies of England, was to terminate by those of Spain, and render the new independent of the old world. At this epoch, the blacks of

St. Domingo wished to maintain, with respect to the mother country, their freedom, which they had conquered from the colonists, and had defended against the English. They had at their head the famous Toussaint-Louverture. France ought to have consented to this revolution, which had already cost humanity enough. The government of the mother country could never more be re-established in St. Domingo: and by drawing closer the commercial ties with this ancient colony, it might have given itself the only real advantages which Europe, at the present day, can derive from America. Instead of this prudent line of policy, Bonaparte tried an expedition to reduce this island to submission. Forty thousand men were embarked for this disastrous enterprise. It was impossible that the blacks could at first resist such an army: but after its first victories it was attacked by the climate; new insurrections assured the independence of the colony, and France experienced the double loss of an army, and of advantageous commercial relations.

Bonaparte, whose principal object had hitherto been the fusion of parties, now

directed all his attention to the internal prosperity of the republic, and the organization of his power. The noblesse and the clergy were re-introduced in the state, without forming particular classes, The refractory priests, by means of an oath of obedience, could again exercise their religion, and derive their pensions from the government. An act of amnesty was granted in favour of the emigrants, and there remained only a list of a thousand names of those who continued attached to the family and rights of the pretender. The work of pacification was terminated. Bonaparte, aware that the surest means of commanding a nation is to augment its prosperity, stimulated the development of industry, and encouraged the foreign commerce which had been so long suspended. To his motives of policy he added others more elevated, and he sought his own glory in the prosperity of France. He surveyed the departments, cut out canals and harbours, built bridges, repaired the roads, erected monuments, and multiplied the means of communication. He prided himself especially in being the protector and the legislator of domestic interests. The *civil*, *penal*, and *commercial*

codes, which he undertook, either at this epoch or a little later, completed in this respect the work of the revolution, and regulated the internal existence of the nation, in a manner very nearly conformable to its real condition. Spite of political despotism, France had, during the domination of Bonaparte, a domestic legislation superior to all the European societies which, with such absolute government, had preserved also the civil state of the middle ages. The general peace, the universal toleration, the return of order, and the creation of an administrative system, changed in a short time the face of the republic. Civilization developed itself with extraordinary rapidity; and the consulate was, under this aspect, the strong period of the directory, from its opening to the 18 fructidor.

It was more especially after the peace of Amiens that Bonaparte laid the foundation of his future power. He says himself, in the memoirs published under his name: "The ideas of Napoleon were fixed;* but to realize them he wanted the assistance of time and of events. The organization of the consulate was per-

* "Memoirs for the History of France, under Napoleon, written at St. Helena," tom. 1, page 248.

fectly consistent with these; it produced unity, and this was a first step. This step gained, Napoleon was entirely indifferent to the forms and denominations of the different constituted bodies. He was a stranger to the revolution.... his wisdom was to march on his way, without deviating from a fixed point, the polar star by which Napoleon was taking his direction, in order to conduct the revolution to the harbour where he wished it to repose."

At the commencement of the year 1802 he was advancing simultaneously three grand projects, which all tended to the same object. He wished to constitute the clergy, which had as yet only a religious existence; to create, by the Legion of Honour, a permanent military order in the army; and to establish his own power, at first for his own life, and then for his posterity. Bonaparte was installed at the Tuileries, where he gradually resumed the usages and the ceremonial of the ancient monarchy. He was already becoming desirous to establish an intermediate body between himself and the people. He had for some time been in negociation with pope Pius VII, on the affairs of religion. The famous con-

cordat, which created nine arch-bishoprics, forty-one bishoprics, with the erection of chapters, which established the clergy in the state, and replaced it under the external monarchy of the pope, was signed at Paris, the 15th July, and ratified at Rome the 15th August, 1801.

Bonaparte, who had destroyed the liberty of the press, created by the exceptional tribunals, and who was departing more and more from the principles of the revolution, found that he could proceed no further without breaking altogether with the liberal party of the 18 brumaire. In March 1802 [ventose, in the year 10], the most energetic of the tribunes were struck off by a simple operation of the senate: the tribunate was reduced to eighty members; and the legislative body underwent a similar purgation. About a month after, on the 6th April 1802 [15 germinal,] Bonaparte, no longer dreading opposition, submitted the concordat for the acceptance of the assemblies, which he had thus prepared for obedience: they adopted it by a very great majority. The sabbath and the four grand festivals were restored, and from this moment the government ceased to follow the

decennary system. This was the first abandonment of the republican calendar. Bonaparte hoped to attach to himself the sacerdotal party, the order most disposed for passive obedience, and thus to balance the clergy against the royalist opposition, and the pope against the interests of the coalition.

The concordat was inaugurated in great pomp, in the church of Notre-Dame. The senate, the legislative body, the tribune, the principal functionaries, assisted at this new ceremony. The first consul went there in the carriages of the ancient court, with all the circumstance and etiquette of the old monarchy; discharges of artillery announced this return of privilege, and this essay of royalty. A pontifical mass was celebrated by the cardinal-legate Caprara; and the people heard, in a proclamation, language to which they had been strangers: "It was to the sovereign-pontiff," they said, "that reason, and the example of ages, taught them to recur, for the purpose of reconciling their animosities, and producing union in their sentiments. The chief of the church had weighed, in his wisdom, and in the interest of the church, the propositions which

the interest of the state had dictated." In the evening there was an illumination and concert in the garden of the Tuileries. The military presented themselves unwillingly at the ceremony of the inauguration, and haughtily manifested their disapprobation. On the return to the palace, Bonaparte questioned general Delmas on the subject. "*How,*" said he to him, "*did you like the ceremony?*" "*It was a beautiful piece of devotion,*" replied Delmas; "*there were only wanting the million of men, who have been slain to destroy that which you are restoring.*"

A month after, on the 15th May 1802 [25 floréal, in the year 10] he caused to be presented a law relative *to the creation of a legion of honour.* This legion was to be composed of fifteen cohorts of dignitaries for life, arranged hierarchically, having a centre, an organization, and revenues. The first consul was the chief of the legion. Each cohort was composed of seven grand officers, twenty commandants, thirty officers, and three hundred and fifty legionaries. The object of Bonaparte was to establish a new aristocracy. He addressed himself to the sentiment of inequality, which had been but imperfectly

extinguished. In discussing this project of law in the council of state, he fearlessly made known his aristocratic intentions. Berlier, a counsellor of state, having disapproved of an institution so contrary to the spirit of the republic, said, "that distinctions were the baubles of monarchy." "I defy you," rejoined the first consul,* "to shew me a republic, ancient or modern, in which there were no distinctions. You spoke of *baubles*. Well! it is by baubles that we delude mankind. I should not say this to a tribune; but, in a council of sages and statesmen, we ought to say everything. I do not believe that the French people love *liberty and equality*. The French are not changed by ten years of revolution! they have only one sentiment, *honour*. We must therefore give aliment to this sentiment; we must create distinctions. Do you see how the people prostrate themselves before the ribbons and stars of the foreigners; they have been surprised by it; neither do

* This passage is extracted from the unpublished memoirs of M. Thibaudeau of the time of the consulate. In these memoirs, which are extremely curious, will be found political conversations of Bonaparte, details upon his domestic government, and upon the principal sittings of the council of state, which throw much light upon an epoch as yet very imperfectly understood.

they fail to wear them.—We have destroyed everything—we must now rebuild. We have a government, we have powers; but the rest of the nation—what is it? Grains of sand. We have in the midst of us ancient privileges, organized from principles and interests, and which know well what they want. I can reckon our enemies. But as for us, we are scattered, without system, without union, without contact. So long as I live, I can answer for the welfare of the republic; but we must provide for the future. Do you believe that the republic is finally settled? You would find yourselves greatly mistaken. We are able to do it; but we have not, nor shall we, if we do not throw upon the soil of France some masses of granite." Bonaparte announced in these declarations a system of government directly opposite to that which the revolution proposed to establish, and which the new state of society demanded.

Notwithstanding the docility of the council of state, and the purgation which the tribunate and the legislative body had undergone, these three bodies vigorously opposed a law which restored inequality. The Legion of Honour obtained in the council of state only

fourteen voices against ten; in the tribunate, only thirty-eight against fifty-six; and, in the legislative body, only one hundred and sixty-six against one hundred and six. Public opinion manifested a still more decided repugnance to this new order of chivalry: those who were at first invested with it were almost ashamed, and received it with a sort of derision. But Bonaparte pursued his counter-revolutionary march, without disturbing himself by discontents which could no longer produce resistance.

He wished to consolidate his power by the establishment of privilege, and to strengthen privilege by the duration of his power. Upon the proposition of Chabot (de l'Allier) the tribunate declared its wish:—*That there should be given to general Bonaparte a* BRILLIANT PLEDGE *of the national gratitude.* Conformably to this wish, on the 6th May 1802, an organic senatus consultum nominated Bonaparte consul for ten years longer.

But the prolongation of the consulate was not enough for Bonaparte; and two months after, on the 2nd August 1802, the senate, upon the decision of the tribunate and the legislative body, and with the assent of the

people, ascertained by the public registers, carried the following decree:

1. The French people nominate, and the senate proclaim, Napoleon Bonaparte first consul for life.

2. A statue of Peace, holding in one hand the laurel of victory, and in the other the decree of the senate, shall attest to posterity the gratitude of the nation.

3. The senate shall bear to the first consul the expression of the confidence, the affection, and the admiration of the French people.

The revolution was completed by granting to the consulate for life, by a simple organic senatus-consultum, the despotic privileges of the temporary consulate. "Senators," said Cornudet, on presenting to them the new law, "we must shut the door upon the Gracchi for ever. The wishes of the citizens with respect to the political laws which they obey, are sufficiently expressed by the general prosperity. The guarantee of the rights of society places absolutely the exercise of the sovereignty of the people in the senate, which is the bond of the nation. This is the only social doctrine." The senate admitted this new social doctrine: it carried off the sovereignty and kept

it safe, until a suitable occasion occurred to pass it over to Bonaparte.

The constitution of 16 thermidor, in the year 10 [4th August 1802], dismissed the people from the state. The public and administrative functions were made immoveable, like those of the government. The electors were for life; the first consul could increase their number; the senate had the right of changing the institutions, of suspending the functions of the jury, of putting the departments out of the pale of the constitution, of annulling the judgments of the tribunals, of dissolving the legislative body and the tribunate; the council of state was strengthened; the tribunate, already decimated by exclusions, appeared still to be sufficiently formidable to call for its reduction to fifty members. Such was, in two years, the frightful progress of privilege and absolute power. Towards the end of the year 1802 everything was in the hands of the consul for life, who had a class devoted to him, in the clergy; a military order, in the Legion of Honour; a body of administrators, in the council of state; a machine for decrees, in the legislative assembly; a manufactory of constitutions, in the senate.

Not daring yet to destroy the tribunate entirely, from which occasionally some words of liberty and opposition were heard, he deprived it of its most courageous and eloquent members, in order that his will might be repeated with docility by all the bodies of the nation.

This internal system of usurpation was extended to his relations with foreign countries. Bonaparte united, on the 26th August, the isle of Elba, and on the 11th September 1802, Piedmont, to the French territory. On the 9th October he occupied the state of Parma, left vacant by the death of the duke; finally, on the 21st October, he caused an army of thirty thousand men to enter Switzerland, for the purpose of enforcing an act of federation, which regulated the constitution of each canton, and which had excited some disturbance. He thus furnished the pretext for a rupture with England, which had never sincerely subscribed to the peace. The British cabinet had only felt the necessity of a suspension of arms; and it prepared, shortly after the treaty of Amiens, a third coalition, as it had done after the treaty of Campo-Formio, and at the moment of the congress of Rastadt. The interest and the situation of England

were alone sure to lead to a rupture, which would immediately dissolve the unions which Bonaparte had effected between various states, and destroy the influence which he preserved over the neighbouring republics, to which the late treaties had assigned complete independence. Bonaparte, on the other hand, breathing only in the glory of the field of battle, and wishing to aggrandize France by conquests and complete his own elevation by victories, could not condemn himself to repose: war was necessary, since he would not have liberty.

The two cabinets continued for some time to exchange very angry notes. Lord Whitworth, the English ambassador, concluded by leaving Paris on the 13th May 1803 [25 floréal, in the year 11]: the peace was definitively broken in June [prairial]; both parties prepared for war. The party of emigrants, who had attempted nothing since the *infernal machine* and the continental peace, was encouraged by this resumption of hostilities. The occasion appeared favourable to it; and a conspiracy was framed at London, with the consent of the British cabinet, at the head of which was Pichegru and Georges Cadoudal. The conspirators landed secretly

on the French coast, and proceeded as secretly to Paris. They conferred with general Moreau, who had been persuaded by his wife to become a royalist: but, at the moment when they were about to execute their *coup de main*, the greater part of them were arrested by the police, which had discovered the conspiracy and followed their track. Georges was punished with death, Pichegru was found strangled in his prison, and Moreau was condemned to be detained two years, which was changed into banishment.

This conspiracy, discovered in the middle of February 1804, rendered still more dear to the people the menaced person of the first consul; he received addresses from all the bodies of the state, and from all the departments of the republic. About this time he crushed an illustrious victim: on the 15th March, the duc d'Enghien was carried off by a squadron of cavalry, from the castle of Ettenheim, in the grand duchy of Baden, within a short distance of the Rhine. The first consul believed, from the indications of the police, that this prince had directed the last conspiracy. The duc d'Enghien was precipitately conducted to Vincennes, tried in a few hours by a military

commission, and shot in the moat of the castle. This outrage was not an act of policy, of usurpation, but rather of violence and rage. The royalists had persuaded themselves, on the 18 brumaire, that the first consul was reacting the part of Monk; but in the period of four years he had cured them of this hope. There was no necessity for his breaking with them in a manner so sanguinary, or of reassuring the Jacobins, who no longer existed. The men who remained attached to the constitution had much more dread of despotism than of counter-revolution. Everything induces us to think that Bonaparte, who deemed little of the life of men, little of the rights of nations, who had already acquired the habit of a summary and passionate policy, believed the prince to be one of the conspirators, and wished to terminate, by a terrible example, all conspiracies, the only danger which at this epoch could touch his power.

The war with Great Britain and the conspiracy of Georges and Pichegru, served as a ladder for Bonaparte to mount from the consulate to the empire. On the 27th March 1804 [6 germinal, in the year 12] the senate, on receiving a communication of the conspi-

racy, sent a deputation to the first consul. The president François de Neufchâteau, expressed himself in these terms: "Citizen first consul, you are founding a new era, but you ought to make it eternal: splendour, which does not endure, is but a shadow. We cannot doubt that this grand idea has occupied your mind, for your creating genius embraces everything and forgets nothing. Do not delay; you are urged by the time, by events, by conspirators, by the ambitious; you are urged on, in another point of view, by the restlessness which agitates Frenchmen. You may bind down time, command events, disarm ambition, tranquillize France, by giving it institutions which will cement your edifice, and which may prolong for the children that which you have done for their fathers. Citizen first consul, be well assured, the senate speaks here in the name of all the citizens."

Bonaparte answered the senate from St. Cloud on the 25th April 1804 [5 floréal, in the year 12]: "Your address has not ceased to be present to my thoughts; it has been the object of my constant meditations. You have judged the hereditary descent of the supreme magistracy necessary to protect the people

from the conspiracies of our enemies and the agitations which spring from ambitious rivalries. Many of our institutions have appeared to you to want improvement, in order to assure, without the possibility of vicissitude, the triumph of equality and public liberty, and offer to the nation and the government the double guarantee which they require. In proportion as I have concentrated my attention on these great objects, I have felt more and more that, in a case as novel as it is important, the counsels of your wisdom and experience were necessary to enable me to fix all my ideas. I invite you, therefore, to make known to me all your thoughts." The senate replied on the 3rd May [14 floréal]: "The senate thinks that it is of the last importance to the French people to confide the government of the republic to *Napoleon Bonaparte,* hereditary emperor." It was by this preconcerted scene that the establishment of the empire was preluded.

The tribune Curée opened the discussion in the tribunate by a motion of order; he rested on the same grounds as those of the senators. His motion was received with eagerness: Carnot alone had the courage to resist the in-

stitution of the empire: "I am," said he, "far from wishing to lessen the praises due to the first consul; but whatever services a citizen may have rendered to his country, there are limits which honour as well as reason impose on the national gratitude. If this citizen has restored the public liberty, if he has accomplished the salvation of his country, will it be a recompense to offer him only the sacrifice of this same liberty, and will it not be to annihilate his own work, to offer him his country as his private patrimony? From the moment that it was proposed to the French people to vote upon the question of the consulate for life, any one might easily see that there existed an ulterior design: we saw in succession a multitude of institutions evidently monarchical. This day we see the termination of all these preliminary measures; we are summoned to pronounce upon the formal proposition of re-establishing the monarchic system, and of conferring upon the first consul the imperial dignity and its inheritance.

"Was liberty shewn only to man, that he might never enjoy it! No, I cannot consent to regard as a delusion this good, so univer-

versally preferred to all others, and without which all others are nothing: my heart tells me that liberty is attainable, and that a free government is easy and more stable than an arbitrary government. I voted against the consulate for life, I now vote against the re-establishment of monarchy, because I think that my office of tribune compels me to do so."

He stood alone in his sentiments: his colleagues rose up with envy and amazement against the opinion of this one man, who had escaped the contagion of slavery. We are struck in the harangues of this epoch, with the prodigious change which had taken place in the ideas and the language. The revolution had retrograded to the verge of the ancient régime: there was the same extravagance and the same fanaticism, but it was an extravagance of flattery, and a fanaticism of slavery. The French threw themselves into the imperial government as they had thrown themselves into the revolution. They had referred everything to the deliverance of the people, in the age of reason; they now spoke only of the greatness of one man, and of the age of Bonaparte; and they now fought for the establishment of

kings as not long before they had fought for the creation of republics.

The tribunate, the legislative body, and the senate, were equally eager to vote the Empire, which was proclaimed at St. Cloud on the 18th May 1804 [2 floréal, in the year 12]. The same day a senatus-consultum modified the constitution, which was adapted to the new order of things. The pomp of attendance was still wanting to the imperial government; they gave it French princes, grand dignitaries, marshals, chamberlains, and pages. All publicity was destroyed. The liberty of the press had been already subjected to a censorship; there remained only one tribune open to spectators, which was abolished. The sittings of the tribunate were partial and secret, as were those of the council of state; and from this date, for a period of ten years, France was governed with closed doors. Joseph and Louis Bonaparte were recognised French princes: Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Masséna, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, Kellermann, Lefebvre, Pérignon, Serrurier, were nominated marshals of the empire. The departments sent addresses, and the clergy

compared Napoleon to a new Moses, a new Mathathias, to a new Cyrus, &c.; they saw in his elevation the *finger of God*, and they said, *That submission was due to him as governing over all; to his ministers as sent by him; because such was the order of Providence.* The pope, Pius VII, came to Paris to consecrate the new dynasty. The coronation took place on Sunday, 2d December, in the church of Notre-Dame.

This solemnity was in prepartion long before-hand, and the whole ceremonial was regulated according to ancient usage. The emperor went to the metropolitan church, escorted by his guard, with the empress Josephine, in a carriage surmounted by a crown and drawn by eight white horses. The pope, the cardinals, the archbishops, the bishops, and all the great bodies of the state, awaited him in the cathedral, which had been magnificently ornamented for this extraordinary ceremony. He was harangued at the gate; and then, clothed in the imperial mantle, the crown on his head and the sceptre in his hand, he ascended the throne, which was raised at the bottom of the church.

The grand almoner, a cardinal, and a bishop

came to conduct him to the foot of the altar, to be there consecrated. The pope, having anointed him with a triple unction upon the head and hands, pronounced the following prayer: "Almighty God, who didst establish Hazael for the government of Syria, and Jehu king of Israel, in manifesting to them thy will by means of the prophet Elijah; thou who also didst spread the holy unction of kings upon the head of Saul and David by the ministry of the prophet Samuel, spread also, by my hands, the treasures of thy grace and benediction upon thy servant Napoleon, whom, notwithstanding our personal unworthiness, we this day consecrate emperor in thy name."

The pope led him back with great solemnity to the throne, and after he had taken upon the gospel the oath prescribed by the new constitution, the principal herald at arms cried, in a loud voice, *The most glorious and most august emperor of the French is crowned and enthroned! Long live the emperor!* The church rang with the same cry; there was a discharge of artillery, and the pope chaunted *Te Deum*. For many days the festivals were multiplied; but these forced festivals, these

festivals of absolute power, breathed nothing of the joy, vivid, frank, popular, unanimous, of the first federation of the 14th July; and however the nation might be pressed down, it did not welcome the advent of despotism as it had welcomed that of liberty!

The consulate was the last period of the existence of the republic. The revolution was arriving at maturity. During the first epoch of the consular government, Bonaparte attached the proscribed classes to himself by recalling them; he found a people still agitated by all the passions, which he reduced to a calm by his efforts, to prosperity, by the re-establishment of order; finally, he compelled Europe, a third time vanquished, to recognise his elevation. Up to the treaty of Amiens he recalled to the republic victory, concord, prosperity, without sacrificing liberty. He could then, if he had so wished, have become the representative of this grand epoch, which demanded the consecration of a well-understood equality, a wise liberty, a civilization more developed, the noble system of human dignity. The nation was in the hands of a great man or a despot; it depended on him to preserve its freedom, or to

enslave it. He chose rather the accomplishment of his own egotistical projects, and preferred himself alone to all mankind. Bred in the camp, coming late in the revolution, he could comprehend only his own natural and private interests; he could not believe in the moral wants which had given rise to it, nor in the creeds which had agitated it, and which sooner or later was certain to recur and destroy him. He saw a grand movement about to close, an exhausted people which was at his mercy, an earthly crown which he had it in his power to take.

THE EMPIRE.

CHAPTER XV.

Character of the empire.—Change of the republics, created by the directory into kingdoms.—Third coalition; taking of Vienna; victory of Austerlitz; peace of Presbourg; erection of the kingdoms of Bavaria and Wurtemberg against Austria.—Confederation of the Rhine.—Joseph Napoleon nominated king of Naples; Louis Napoleon, king of Holland.—Fourth coalition; battle of Jena; taking of Berlin; victories of Eylau and Friedland; peace of Tilsit; the Prussian monarchy reduced by one half; the two kingdoms of Saxony and Westphalia are established against it.—That of Westphalia is given to Jerome Napoleon.—The *grand empire* rises with its secondary kingdoms, its confederation of the Rhine, its Swiss mediation, its grand fiefs; it is modelled upon that of Charlemagne.—The continental blockade; Napoleon employs the cessation of commerce in order to reduce England, as he had employed arms to subdue the continent.—The invasion of Portugal and Spain; Joseph Bonaparte is nominated king of Spain; Murat replaces him upon the throne of Naples.—New order of events; national insurrection of the peninsula; religious struggle with the pope; commercial opposition of Holland.—Fifth coalition.—Victory of Wagram; peace of Vienna; the marriage of

Napoleon with the arch-duchess Maria Louisa.—The first attempt at resistance fails; the pope is dethroned; Holland united to the empire, and the war in Spain prosecuted with vigour.—Russia renounces the continental system; campaign of 1812; taking of Moscow; disastrous retreat.—Reaction against the powers of Naples; campaign of 1813; general defection.—Coalition of all Europe; exhausted condition of France; the marvellous campaign of 1814.—The confederates at Paris; abdication of Fontainbleau; character of Napoleon; his part in the French revolution.—Conclusion.

From the establishment of the empire, power became more arbitrary and society re-formed itself into the habits of aristocracy. The grand movement of recomposition, which had commenced on the 9 thermidor, went on increasing. The convention had reduced the classes; the directory had destroyed parties; the consulate gained men; the empire corrupted them by distinctions and privileges. This second period was the very reverse of the first. Under the one we saw the government of committees exercised by men eligible every three months, without guards, without fees, without pomp, living on a few francs a day, labouring eighteen hours upon plain walnut-tree tables; under the other, the government of the empire with all

the paraphernalia of administration, its chamberlains, its gentlemen, its pretorian guard, its hereditary character, its immense civil list, and its blustering ostentation. There remained then for the national activity but labour and war. All the material interests, all the ambitious passions, were arranged hierarchically under a single chief, who, after having sacrificed liberty by the establishment of absolute power, destroyed equality by the creation of nobility.

The directory had moulded all the surrounding states into republics: Napoleon wished to constitute them upon the model of the empire. He began with Italy. The order in council of the Cisalpine Republic decided that hereditary monarchy should be re-established in favour of Napoleon. Its vice-president, M. Melzy, came to Paris to make known to him this decision. On the (17th March 1805) 26 ventose, in the year 13, he was received at the Tuileries in solemn audience. Napoleon was upon his throne, surrounded by his court and all the brilliancy of sovereign power, of which he was passionately fond. M. Melzy offered him the crown in the name of his fellow citizens: "Sire," said he to him, in

conclusion, " deign to realize the wish of the assembly over which I have the honour to preside. Interpreter of the sentiments which animate all Italian hearts, it brings to you their most sincere homage. It will gladly inform them that, in accepting their prayer, you have redoubled the force of the bonds which attach you to the preservation, the defence, the prosperity of the Italian nation. Yes, sire, you willed that the Italian republic should exist, and it has existed. Will that the Italian monarchy should be happy, and it will be so."

The emperor went to take possession of this realm; and on the 26th May 1805, he received the iron crown of the Lombards. He nominated the prince Eugene de Beauharnais, his adopted son, viceroy of Italy. He went to Genoa, which also abandoned itself to his sovereignty. On the 4th June 1805, its territory was re-united to the empire and formed the three departments of Genoa, of Montenotte, and of the Appenines. The small republic of Lucca was also comprised in this monarchic revolution. Upon the demand of the gonfalonnier, its chief magistrate, it was given as an apanage to the prince and princess of Piom-

bino, one of the sisters of Napoleon. He himself after this royal progress repassed the Alps, and returned to the capital of his empire. He set out shortly after for the camp of Boulogne, where he was preparing a maritime expedition against England.

This project of descent, which the directory had entertained after the peace of Campo-Formio, and the first consul after the peace of Luneville, had been resumed with much zeal since the new rupture. At the commencement of 1805, a flotilla of two thousand small vessels, manned by sixteen thousand sailors, capable of carrying an army of a hundred and sixty thousand men, nine thousand horse, a numerous artillery, was assembled in the ports of Boulogne, Etaples, Wimereux, Ambleteuse, and Calais. The emperor was accelerating by his presence the completion of this maritime expedition, when he learned that all the forces of the Austrian monarchy were in motion. Ninety thousand men, under the archduke Ferdinand and general Mack, had passed the Inn, invaded Munich, and expelled the elector of Bavaria, the ally of France; thirty thousand, under the archduke John, had occupied the Tyrol; and the archduke

Charles with a hundred thousand men had advanced upon the Adige. Two Russian armies were preparing to join the Austrians. England had organized this third coalition. The establishment of the kingdom of Italy, the re-union of Genoa and Piedmont to France, the open influence exercised by the emperor over Holland and Switzerland, had once more roused the energies of Europe, which now dreaded the ambition of Bonaparte, as it had in former times been terrified by the principles of the revolution. The treaty of alliance between the British minister and the Russian cabinet had been signed on the 11th April 1805, and Austria had acceded to it on the 9th August.

Napoleon instantly quitted Boulogne, returned to Paris, presented himself to the senate on the 23rd September, obtained a levy of eighty thousand men, and set out on the following day to commence the campaign. He passed the Rhine on the 1st October, entered Bavaria on the 6th, with an army of a hundred and sixty thousand men. Masséna arrested the career of prince Charles in Italy, and the emperor pursued the war in Germany with the fleetness of a race-horse. In a few days he crossed the Danube, entered

Munich, won the battle of Wertingen, and at Ulm compelled general Mack to lay down arms. This capitulation disorganized the Austrian army. Napoleon still urged his career of victory, took possession of Vienna on the 13th November, and then marched into Moravia to meet the Russians, who were rallying the wreck of the vanquished troops.

On the 2nd December 1805, the anniversary of the coronation, the two armies engaged on the plain of Austerlitz: the enemy had ninety-five thousand men under arms, the French eighty thousand; the artillery was formidable on both sides. The battle began at sun-rise. These enormous masses were put in motion: the Russian infantry could not withstand the impetuosity of our troops and the manœuvres of their general: the left wing of the enemy was broken first; the imperial Russian guard tried to re-establish the communication, and was entirely crushed: the centre experienced the same fate; and, at one o'clock in the day, the most decisive victory had completed this marvellous campaign. On the following day the emperor congratulated the army in a proclamation, delivered on the field of battle,

"Soldiers!" he said to them, "Your conduct is most satisfactory; you have covered your eagles with immortal glory. An army of a hundred thousand men, commanded by the emperors of Russia and Austria, has been in less than four hours cut to pieces or dispersed; they who have escaped your swords have perished in the lakes. Forty stand of colours, the standards of the imperial Russian guard, a hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, twenty generals, more than thirty thousand prisoners, are the result of this for ever-glorious day. This infantry, so vaunted and so superior in numbers, has been unable to resist your onset; and henceforth you have no rivals to dread. Thus, in two months, this third coalition has been vanquished and dissolved." An armistice was concluded with Austria, and the Russians, who might have been destroyed, obtained permission to retreat by a prescribed route, and within a fixed time.

The peace of Presburg followed the victories of Ulm and of Austerlitz: it was signed on the 26th December. The house of Austria, which had lost its foreign possessions, Belgium and the Milanese, was this time abridged even of some of its German territories. It

ceded the provinces of Dalmatia and Albania to the kingdom of Italy; the district of Tyrol, the town of Augsburg, the principality of Eichstett, a part of the territory of Passau, and all its possessions in Swabia, Brisgau, and Ortenau, to the electorates of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, which were transformed into kingdoms. The grand duchy of Baden was also enriched by its spoils. The treaty of Presburg completed the abasement of Austria, begun by the treaty of Campo-Formio, and continued by that of Lunéville. The emperor on his return to Paris, crowned with glory, became the object of an admiration so general and so intense, that he was himself stunned by the general enthusiasm, and intoxicated by his fortune. He received the title of *the Great:* and the senate decreed him a triumphal monument.

Napoleon was still more strengthened in the system which he had embraced. The victory of Marengo and the peace of Lunéville had sanctioned the consulate; the victory of Austerlitz and the peace of Presburg consecrated the empire. The last remains of the revolution were abandoned. On the 1st January 1806, the republican calendar,

after an existence of fourteen years, was definitively replaced by the common one. The *Pantheon* was restored to religion, and the tribunate even ceased to exist. But the emperor laboured more particularly to extend his domination over the continent. Ferdinand, the king of Naples, having in the last war violated the treaty of peace with France, his states were invaded, and, on the 30th March, Joseph Bonaparte was declared king of the Two Sicilies. Shortly after, on the 5th June 1806, Holland was changed into a kingdom, and received for its monarch Louis Bonaparte, another brother of the emperor. There existed no longer any of the republics created by the convention or the directory. Napoleon, who nominated the secondary kings, re-established the hierarchic military régime and the titles of the middle age. He erected Dalmatia, Istria, Frioul, Cadore, Belluno, Conégliano, Trévese, Feltre, Bassano, Vicenza, Padua, Rovigo, into duchies, grand fiefs of the empire. Marshal Berthier was invested with the principality of Neufchâtel, the minister Talleyrand with that of Benevento, the prince Borghèse and his wife with that of Guastalla, Murat with the grand duchy

of Clèves and Berg. Napoleon, who had not dared to destroy the Swiss republic, declared himself their *mediator;* and he finished the organization of his military empire, by placing the Germanic body in dependance on him. On the 12th July 1806, fourteen princes of the south and west of Germany were united in *the confederation of the Rhine,* and Bonaparte recognized as their protector. On the 1st August, they notified to the diet of Ratisbon their separation from the Germanic body; the German empire ceased to exist, and Francis II abdicated the title by a proclamation.

Napoleon had laid his hand over all the west. Absolute master of France and Italy, as *emperor and king,* he controlled Spain by the subordination of its court; Naples and Holland by his two brothers; Switzerland by the act of mediation; and he disposed the kings of Bavaria, of Wurtemberg, and the confederation of the Rhine, against Austria and Prussia. He might, after the peace of Amiens, by maintaining liberty, have made himself the protector of France and the moderator of Europe. But having sought his glory in domination, and his enjoyment in conquest, he

condemned himself to a long struggle, which, in the end, could only terminate in the dependance of the continent or by his own ruin.

This march of incroachment gave rise to the fourth coalition. Prussia, which had remained neutral since the peace of Bâle, had been upon the point, in the last campaign, of uniting itself to the confederates. The rapidity of the victories of the emperor had prevented it; but alarmed now by the increase of the empire, and encouraged by the fine condition of its troops, it joined in a league with Russia to expel the French from Germany. The cabinet of Berlin required, under pain of war, that the troops should repass the Rhine. It wished also to form, in the north of Germany, a league against the confederation of the south. The emperor, who was in the pride of his prosperity, and in the plenitude of his power, far from submitting to its *ultimatum*, marched against Prussia.

The campaign opened in the beginning of October. Napoleon, according to his usual custom, overwhelmed the coalition by the promptitude of his march and the vigour of his measures. On the 14th October he destroyed, at Jena, the military monarchy of Prussia, by a

decisive victory; on the 16th, fourteen thousand Prussians laid down their arms at Erfurth; on the 25th, the French army entered Berlin; and the latter part of 1806 was employed in taking the Prussian fortresses and in marching into Poland against the Russian army. The campaign of Poland was less rapid, but not less brilliant than that of Prussia. Russia, for the third time, measured itself against France. Vanquished at Zurich, vanquished at Austerlitz, it was again vanquished at Eylau and Friedland. After these memorable days, the emperor Alexander entered into a negociation, and concluded, at Tilsit, the 21st June 1807, an armistice, which was followed, on the 7th July, by a definitive treaty.

The peace of Tilsit extended the French domination over the continent: Prussia was reduced by one half. Napoleon had instituted in the south of Germany the two kingdoms of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, against Austria; he created, still more in advance, in the north the two feudatory kingdoms of Saxony and Westphalia against Prussia. That of Saxony was formed of the electorate of that name and of Prussian Poland, erected into the grand duchy of Warsaw; that of

Westphalia comprised the states of Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick, Fuld, Paderborn, the greatest part of Hanover, and was given to Jerome Bonaparte. The emperor Alexander, who subscribed to all these arrangements, evacuated Moldavia and Wallachia. Russia remained, however, the only power untouched, though vanquished. Napoleon followed more and more the steps of Charlemagne: he had caused, on the day of his coronation, the crown, the sword, and the sceptre of the Frank king to be carried before him. A pope had passed the Alps to consecrate his dynasty, and he modelled his states upon the vast empire of this conqueror. The revolution had wished to re-establish ancient liberty: Napoleon restored the military hierarchy of the middle age: it had made citizens, he made vassals: it had changed Europe into republics, he transformed it into fiefs. As he was great and energetic, as he had come after a shock which had shaken the world to its centre and fatigued it, he was able to arrange it for a season as he pleased. Thus the *great empire* grew up: at home with its system of administration, which replaced the government of the assemblies; its special courts, its lyceums, where military education was substituted for

the republican education of the central colleges; its hereditary noblesse, which completed, in 1808, the re-establishment of inequality; its civil discipline, which rendered all France as obedient as an army: abroad, with its secondary kingdoms, its confederated states, its grand fiefs, and its supreme chief. Napoleon experienced no longer any resistance, and his commands were obeyed from one extremity of Europe to the other.

At this epoch all the attention of the emperor was concentrated upon England, the only power which could withdraw itself from his attacks. Pitt had been dead about a year, but the British cabinet followed, with great ardour and obstinacy, his plans in respect to the revolution and the empire. After having in vain formed a third and a fourth coalition, it still would not lay down arms. It was a struggle for life. Great Britain had declared France in a state of blockade; and it furnished the emperor with a pretext for excluding it from all European relations. The continental blockade, which began in 1807, was the second period of the system of Bonaparte. In order to arrive at an universal and uncontested supremacy, he employed arms against the continent, and the cessation

of commerce against England. But in interdicting the states of *terra-firma* from all communication with Great Britain, he prepared for himself new difficulties, and he added to the hostility which his despotism had excited, to the political hatred which his conquering domination had incurred for him, the exasperation of private interests, and the commercial suffering occasioned by the blockade.

Nevertheless, all the powers seemed united in the same design. England was placed under the ban of Europe at the general peace. Russia and Denmark in the seas of the north, France, Spain, and Holland in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, declared themselves against her. The imperial power was at this moment at its maximum. Napoleon employed all his activity to create maritime resources, capable of balancing the power of England, which had then eleven hundred vessels of war of every description. He formed harbours, fortified the coasts, built ships, and prepared everything to struggle, in a few years, on this new field of battle. But before this period arrived, he wished to assure himself of the Spanish peninsula, and to introduce his dynasty there, that he might introduce into

that country a policy more firmly and personally faithful to his interests. The expedition of Portugal, in 1807 and in 1808, began, in respect to him and Europe, a new order of events.

Portugal, in point of fact, was an English colony. The emperor, in concurrence with the Bourbons of Madrid, decided by the treaty of Fontainbleau, of the 27th October 1807, that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign. A French army, under the command of Junot, entered Portugal. The prince regent embarked for the Brazils, and the French occupied Lisbon on the 30th November 1807. This invasion was only a preliminary to that of Spain. The royal family were in the greatest anarchy; the favourite Godoï was execrated by the people; and the prince of the Asturias, Ferdinand, conspired against the power of the favourite of his father. Although the emperor could not fear anything from such a government, he had been alarmed by an awkward armament prepared by Godoï during the Russian war. It was doubtless at this epoch he projected the placing of one of his brothers on the throne of Spain; he believed that he

should easily crush a divided family, a perishing monarchy, and obtain the consent of a people, whom he should recall to civilization. Under the pretext of the maritime warfare, and the blockade, his troops penetrated into the peninsula, occupied its coasts, its principal places, and took up a position near Madrid. The royal family were persuaded to withdraw into Mexico, after the example of the house of Braganza. But the people opposed this departure; Godoï, the object of the public detestation, was in the greatest peril of his life; and the prince of the Asturias was proclaimed king, under the name of Ferdinand VII. The emperor availed himself of this revolution of the court to effect his own. The French entered Madrid, and he went himself to Bayonne, whither he summoned the Spanish princes. Ferdinand restored the crown to his father, who in turn resigned it in favour of Napoleon; he succeeded in having it decreed to his brother Joseph by a supreme junta, by the council of Castille, and by the municipality of Madrid. Ferdinand was sent to the castle of Valençay, and Charles VI went to live at Compiégne. Napoleon called his brother-in-

law Murat, grand duke of Berg, to the throne of Naples, in the place of Joseph.

At this epoch was manifested the first opposition to the domination of the emperor, and to the continental system. The reaction declared itself in three countries, hitherto the allies of France, and gave rise to the fifth coalition. The court of Rome was discontented: the peninsula was mortified, in its national pride, by the imposition of a foreign king, in its usages, by the suppression of the convents, the inquisition, and the grandees; Holland suffered in its commercial relations by the blockade, and Austria submitted impatiently to its losses and its subordinate position. England, which instantly detected every opportunity of inflaming the struggle upon the continent, provoked the resistance of Rome, of the peninsula, and of the cabinet of Vienna. There had been a coolness between the pope and France since the year 1805; he had hoped that, in return for his pontifical complaisance at the coronation of Napoleon, the provinces, which the directory had united to the Cisalpine Republic, would have been restored to the ecclesiastical domain. Deceived in this expectation, he rejoined the European

counter-revolutionary opposition, and from 1807 to 1808 the Roman states were the rendezvous of English emissaries. After some warm representations, the emperor gave orders to general Miollis to occupy Rome; the pope menaced him with excommunication, and Napoleon took from him the legations of Ancona, Urbin, Macérata, Camérino, which made part of the kingdom of Italy. The legate quitted Paris on the 3rd April 1808; and the religious struggle, for temporal interests, was begun with the chief of the church, who should either not have been acknowledged, or should not have been plundered.

The war with the peninsula was still more serious. The Spaniards recognized Ferdinand VII for their king, in a provincial junta held at Seville, on the 27th May 1808, and they took up arms in all the provinces which the French troops had not occupied. The Portuguese also rose in arms, on the 16th June, at Oporto. These two insurrections were at first very successful; they made great progress in a very short time. General Dupont surrendered at Baylen, in the kingdom of Cordova, and this first reverse of the French arms excited the enthusiasm and the hopes of the

Spaniards. Joseph Napoleon quitted Madrid, where Ferdinand VII was proclaimed; and, about the same time, Junot, not being sufficiently strong in troops to occupy Portugal, consented, by the convention of Cintra, to evacuate it with all the honors of war. The English general Wellington, took possession of this kingdom with twenty-five thousand men. At the very time that the pope was declaring himself against Napoleon, that the insurgent Spaniards were entering Madrid, that the islanders were resuming a position on the continent, the king of Sweden was making hostile manifestations toward the European league, and Austria was raising considerable armaments and preparing herself for a new struggle.

Happily for Napoleon, Russia remained faithful to the alliance and the engagements of Tilsit. The emperor Alexander was then in a fit of enthusiasm and affection for this powerful and extraordinary mortal. Napoleon, who, before leading his forces into the peninsula, wished to assure himself of the north, had an interview with Alexander at Erfurth, on the 27th September 1808. The two masters of the west and the north guaranteed

the repose and the submission of Europe; Napoleon marched into Spain, and Alexander took upon himself the care of Sweden. The presence of the emperor soon changed the fortune of war in the peninsula: he took with him eighty thousand veteran soldiers from Germany. Repeated victories made him master of most of the Spanish provinces. He made his entry into Madrid, and presented himself to the inhabitants of the peninsula, not as a master, but as a liberator. "I have abolished," he said to them, "this inquisition, which Europe and the age have denounced. Priests ought to direct the conscience, but not to exercise any external and corporeal jurisdiction over their fellow citizens. I have suppressed the feudal rights, and any one may establish inns, ovens, mills, nets, fisheries, and give free scope to his industry. The selfishness, the wealth, and the prosperity of a small number of men, are more injurious to your agriculture than the heats of the dog-star. As there is only one God, there ought to be in one state only one law. All partial judicatures have been usurped, and are contrary to the rights of the nation; I have destroyed them . . . . The present generation

may entertain various opinions; too many passions have been put in motion; but your posterity will bless me as your regenerator; they will place among the memorable days of their history those in which I have been amongst you, and from these days will date the prosperity of Spain."

Such was in truth the part of Bonaparte in the peninsula, which could only be restored to a better condition and to liberty, by the return of civilization. The establishment of liberty is no more to be done in a day than any thing else; and when a country is immersed in ignorance, barbarism, and poverty, covered with convents, and governed by monks, we must reform its social state before concerning ourselves about its freedom. Napoleon, who oppressed civilized nations, was a real deliverer for the peninsula. But the two parties of civil liberty and religious servitude, that of the cortes and that of the monks, although aiming at very different objects, had the skill to defend themselves in common. The one was at the head of the superior and the middle, the other of the lower classes, and they vied with each other in inspiring the Spaniards with the sentiments

of civil independence, or religious fanaticism. The following is the catechism of which the priest made use:—

"'*Tell me, my child, who art thou? A Spaniard by the grace of God.—Who is the enemy of our happiness? The emperor of the French.—How many natures has he? Two: the human and the diabolic nature.—How many emperors of the French are there? One, in three deceitful persons.—What are their names? Napoleon, Murat, and Manuel Godoï.—Which of the three is most wicked? They are all three equally wicked.—From whence did Napoleon come? From sin.—Murat? From Napoleon. And Godoï? From the fornication of the two.—What is the spirit of the first? Pride and despotism.—Of the second? Rapine and cruelty.—Of the third? Avarice, treason, and ignorance.—What are the French? Ancient Christians become heretics.—Is there any sin in putting a Frenchman to death? No, my father, we gain heaven by putting one of these dogs of heretics to death.—What punishment deserves the Spaniard who is wanting in his duty? The death and infamy of traitors.—What shall deliver us from our enemies? Confidence in each other and in our arms.*"

Napoleon had engaged himself in a tedious and perilous enterprize, in which his whole system of war was at fault. Victory did not consist here in the defeat of an army and the possession of the capital, but in the entire occupation of the territory, and in that which is still more difficult, the subjection of the mind. Nevertheless, Napoleon was persuading himself that he should subdue this people, when he was recalled to Germany by the fifth coalition.

Austria had seized the opportunity of his absence and that of his army. She made a powerful effort, levied a hundred and fifty thousand men, comprehending the Landwehr, and began the campaign in the spring of 1809. The Tyrolese rose in rebellion, king Jerome was expelled by the Westphalians, Italy was wavering, and Prussia waited only a reverse in the fortunes of Napoleon once more to take up arms: but the emperor was still in the vigour of life, and in the spring-tide of his prosperity. He hastened away from Madrid, crossed the Rhine, plunged into Germany, gained the victories of Eckmuhl and Esling, occupied Vienna a second time, and, by the battle of Wagram, disconcerted this

new coalition, after a four months' campaign. While he was pursuing the Austrian armies, the English presented themselves before Antwerp, but a levy of national guards was sufficient to quash their Scheldt expedition. By the peace of Vienna of the 14th October 1809, a few more provinces were sliced away from the house of Austria, and it was compelled to join in the continental system.

This period was remarkable for the new character of the struggle. It began by the reaction of Europe against the empire, and indicated the alliance of dynasties, people, priesthood, and commerce. All the discontented interests made an attempt at resistance, which at first failed. Napoleon, since the rupture of the peace of Amiens, had entered on a career, at the end of which he must find either the possession, or the hostility of all Europe. Supported by his character and his position, he had created against the people a system of administration of unheard of efficacy; against Europe, a system of secondary monarchies and grand fiefs, which supported his system of conquest; finally, against England, the blockade, which suspended its commerce. Nothing arrested him

from executing these gigantic, but senseless designs. Portugal communicated with England, he invaded it; the royal family of Spain, by its quarrels and its uncertainty, neutralised this boundary of Europe, he compelled it to abdicate, in order to enforce in the peninsula a bolder and less wavering system of policy; the pope maintained relations with the enemy, he reduced its patrimony; the pope menaced him with excommunications, the French entered Rome; the pope realized his menace by a bull, he was dethroned in 1809, as a temporal sovereign; finally, after the victory of Wagram, and the peace of Vienna, Holland, from its commercial necessities, became an *entrepôt* of English merchandise, and the emperor dispossessed his brother Louis of this kingdom, and incorporated it with the empire. He shrunk from no invasion of right, because he would suffer neither opposition nor hesitation from any quarter. It was necessary that all should submit, allies as well as enemies, the head of the church as well as kings, his brothers as well as strangers. But although vanquished this time, all those who had joined this league waited only a fit occasion to rise once more in resistance.

Nevertheless, after the peace of Vienna, Napoleon added still more to the extent and power of the empire. Sweden, which had experienced a domestic revolution, and whose king, Gustavus Adolphus IV, had been compelled to abdicate, acknowledged the continental system. Bernadotte, prince of Ponte-Corvo, was elected by the states-general hereditary prince of Sweden, and king Charles XIII adopted him for his son. The blockade was maintained throughout all Europe; and the empire, encreased by the Roman states, the Illyrian provinces, those of Valais, of Holland, of the Hanseatic towns, had one hundred and thirty departments, and extended from Hamburg and Dantzic to Trieste and Corfu. Napoleon, who appeared to follow a rash but inflexible policy, deviated from his route at this epoch by a second marriage. He procured a divorce against Josephine, in order to give an heir to the empire, and he married Maria, arch-duchess of Austria. This was a grand error. He abandoned his position and his part of an upstart and revolutionary monarch, who was labouring in Europe against the ancient courts, as the republic had done against the ancient monarchies; he placed himself in an awkward position in respect to

Austria, which he ought either to have crushed after the victory of Wagram, or to have re-established after the marriage with the arch-duchess. Solid alliances repose only on real interests, and Napoleon did not know how to deprive the Austrian cabinet either of the desire or the power to combat with him again. This marriage changed also the character of his empire, and separated it still more from the popular interests; he sought for ancient families to grace his court, and he did all in his power to amalgamate the ancient with the new noblesse, as he had already done in respect to the dynasties. Austerlitz had consecrated the *plebeian* empire; Wagram was to establish the *noble* empire. The birth of a son, in March 1811, who received the title of the *king of Rome*, seemed to consolidate the power of Napoleon, by assuring him of a successor.

The war with Spain was pushed on with vigour during the years 1810 and 1811. The territory of the peninsula was defended foot by foot, and it was necessary to take the towns by assault. Suchet, Soult, Mortier, Ney, Sebastiani, made themselves masters of several provinces; and the Spanish junta, unable to maintain its position in Seville, shut

itself up in Cadiz, of which a French army immediately began the blockade. The new expedition of Portugal was less fortunate. Masséna, who had the direction of it, at first compelled Wellington to retreat, and took Oporto and Olivenza; but the English general entrenching himself in the strong position of Torres-Vedras, Masséna could not touch him, and was compelled to evacuate the country.

While this war was going on prosperously in the peninsula, but without any decisive success, a new campaign was preparing in the north. Russia saw the empire of Napoleon approaching itself. Closed up within its own frontiers, it remained without influence and without acquisitions; suffering all the evils of a blockade, without sharing in the spoils of war. This cabinet bore with impatience a supremacy to which it was itself aspiring, and which it had pursued, slowly but without interruption, since the reign of Peter I. From the close of the year 1810, it augmented its armies, renewed its commercial relations with Great Britain, and appeared not far distant from a rupture. The whole of the year 1811 was passed in negociations, which ended in

nothing, and on both sides dispositions were made for war. The emperor, whose armies were then before Cadiz, and who reckoned upon the co-operation of the west and the north against Russia, entered with ardour on the preparations for an enterprize which was to reduce the only power which he had not yet touched, and to carry his victorious eagles to Moscow. He obtained the assistance of Prussia and Austria, who pledged themselves, by the treaties of the 24th February, and the 14th March, 1812, to furnish an auxiliary corps, the one of twenty thousand, the other of thirty thousand men. The whole disposable force of France was set on foot. A senatus-consultum distributed the national guard into three bands, for the service of the interior, and appropriated a hundred cohorts of the first band (nearly a hundred thousand men) for active military service. On the 9th March, Napoleon set out on this vast expedition; he established his court, during many months, at Dresden, where the emperor of Austria, the king of Prussia, and all the sovereigns of Germany, came to do homage to his power and his fortune. On the 22nd June, war was declared against Russia.

Napoleon directed his operations in this campaign according to measures which he had always hitherto found successful. He had terminated all the wars which he had undertaken by the rapid defeat of the enemy, the occupation of its capital, and peace with a partition of its territory. His project was to reduce Russia by the creation of the kingdom of Poland, as he had reduced Austria by forming the kingdoms of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, after Austerlitz; and Prussia, by organizing those of Saxony and Westphalia, after Jena. With this purpose he had stipulated with the cabinet of Vienna, by the treaty of the 14th March, for the exchange of Gallicia with the Illyrian provinces. The re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland was proclaimed by the diet of Warsaw, but in a manner incomplete: and Napoleon, who, according to his habits, wished to achieve everything in a single campaign, advanced into the heart of Russia, instead of prudently organizing the Polish barrier against it. His army was about five hundred thousand men. He passed the Niémen on the 24th June, took possession of Wilna and Witepsk; fought the Russians at Ostrowno, Polotzk, Mohilow, Smolensk, and at

the Moskowa, and on the 14th September made his entry into Moscow.

The Russian cabinet had not placed its means of defence merely in its troops, but also in its vast territory and in its climate. As its vanquished armies retreated before ours, they burnt the towns, devastated the provinces, and prepared, in the event of reverses or retreat, the greatest difficulties for Napoleon. In the spirit of this system, Moscow was reduced to a heap of ashes by its governor Rostopchin, as had been Smolensko, Dorogoboni, Wiasma, Gjhat, Mojaisk, and a great number of towns and villages. The emperor ought to have seen that this war would not terminate like the rest; nevertheless, vanquisher of the enemy and master of its capital, he conceived hopes of peace, which the Russians artfully cherished. The winter was approaching, and Napoleon prolonged, for nearly six weeks, his stay at Moscow. He decided upon a retreat only on the 19th October. This retreat was disastrous, and the empire began to totter to its basis. Napoleon could not have been thrown from his high station by the arm of man, for what general could have triumphed over this in-

comparable general? What army could have vanquished the French army? But reverses awaited him in the extreme borders of Europe, at the icy frontiers, which his conquering domination was to reach, and where it was to terminate. He lost, at the end of this campaign, not by defeat, but by cold, by famine, in the midst of the solitudes and the snows of Russia, his veteran army and the charm of his fortune.

The retreat was made with some appearance of regularity as far as the Berezina, where it became one vast scene of disorder. After the passage of this river, Napoleon, who had hitherto followed the army, set out in a sledge, and returned in all haste to Paris, where a conspiracy had broken out in his absence. General Mallet, in co-operation with some others, had conceived the design of overthrowing this colossus of power. His enterprise was very audacious, and as it was founded on an error (the death of Napoleon) too much deception was necessary for it to succeed. Moreover, the empire was still firmly established, and it was not a conspiracy, but a deliberate and general defection, which alone could destroy it. The conspiracy

of Mallet failed, and its leaders were put to death. The emperor, on his return, found the nation surprised by an unaccustomed disaster; but the bodies of the state still observed towards him the most unlimited obedience. He arrived on the 18th September at Paris, obtained a levy of three hundred thousand men, gave a spring to the nation, and refitted in a short time with his prodigious activity a new army, and recommenced the campaign on the 15th April 1813.

But since his retreat from Moscow, Napoleon had entered upon a new series of events. It was in 1812 that the decline of his empire was manifest. All were weary of his domination. All those by whose concurrence he had been raised took part against him. The priests had secretly conspired since his rupture with the pope. Eight state prisons had been officially erected for the dissidents of this party. The mass of the nation also showed itself as weary of his conquests as it had been formerly of factions. It had expected from him attention to private interests, the increase of commerce, respect for the interests of humanity, and it found itself oppressed by conscriptions, by imposts, by the blockade,

by the prevôtal courts, and by the 'consolidated taxes,' the inevitable consequences of his conquering system. He had no longer for adversaries only the small number of men who had remained faithful to the revolution, and whom he called *ideologists,* but all those who, without any precise opinions, wished to realise the material advantages of a better civilization. Abroad, the people groaned under a military yoke, and the humiliated dynasties aspired to restore themselves. The whole world was ill at ease, and a check naturally led to an universal insurrection: "I triumphed," said Napoleon himself, in speaking of the preceding campaigns,* "in the midst of perils always springing up again. As much address as force was wanting. If I had not conquered at Austerlitz, I should have had all Prussia in arms; if I had not triumphed at Jena, Austria and Spain would have declared themselves upon my rear; if I had not fought at Wagram, which was not so decisive, I should have been afraid that Russia would have abandoned me; that Prussia would have risen up against me, and the English were before Antwerp." Such was his condition:

* Memorial of St. Helena, tom. iii, p. 251.

the more he advanced in his career, the more necessary was it for him to conquer, and decisively too. Thus, when he had been defeated, the kings whom he had subdued, the kings whom he had made, the allies whom he had aggrandised, the states which he had incorporated with the empire, the senators who had flattered him so much, and even his companions in arms, abandoned him. The plain of battle which he had carried to Moscow in 1812 retreated towards Dresden in 1813, and was around Paris in 1814—so rapid was the reverse of fortune. The cabinet of Berlin began the defection. On the 1st March 1813 it re-united itself to Russia and England, which formed the *sixth coalition*, to which Sweden was shortly after added. The emperor, whom the confederates believed to be crushed, opened the campaign, notwithstanding, with new victories. The battle of Lutzen gained on the 2nd May with conscripts, the occupation of Dresden, the victory of Bautzen, and the war carried to the banks of the Elbe, astonished the coalition. Austria, which was placed in 1810 on the footing of peace, was again about to take up arms; it already meditated a change of alliance, and proposed itself

as mediator between the emperor and the confederates. Its mediation was accepted. An armistice was concluded at Plesswitz on the 4th June, and a congress assembled at Prague to negociate the peace. But they could not understand each other; Napoleon would not consent to a diminution of his power, and Europe would not remain subject to him. The confederated powers, in concurrence with Austria, demanded that the empire should be bounded by the Rhine, the Alps, and the Meuse. The negociators separated without coming to any conclusion. Austria entered the coalition, and hostilities commenced. War alone could terminate this grand debate. The emperor had only two hundred and eighty thousand men against five hundred and twenty thousand; he wished to drive the enemy beyond the Elbe, and dissolve as usual this new coalition by the promptitude and vigour of his measures. Victory at first appeared to second him. He beat the united allies at Dresden, but the defeats of his lieutenants deranged his plans. Macdonald was vanquished in Silesia; Ney, near Berlin; Vandamme, at Kulm. Unable to make head against the enemy, which was ready to burst upon him

from every quarter, Napoleon began to think of retreating. The princes of the confederation of the Rhine chose this moment to desert the empire. A great battle was fought between the two armies at Leipsic, and the Saxons and the Wurtembergers passed over to the enemy on the field of battle. This defection and the force of the allies, who had learned to make war more compactly and more skilfully, compelled Napoleon to retreat after a struggle of three days. The army marched in the greatest confusion towards the Rhine, of which the Bavarians, who had also revolted, wished to prevent the passage; but it crushed them at Hanau, and re-entered upon the territory of the empire on the 30th October 1813. The end of this campaign was as disadvantageous as that of the preceding. France was menaced within its own frontiers as in 1799, but it had no longer the same enthusiasm of independence; and the man who had despoiled it of its rights found it, at this grand crisis, incapable of supporting him and defending itself. Thus is expiated, sooner or later, the enslavement of nations.

Napoleon returned to Paris the 9th November 1813. He obtained from the senate a

levy of three hundred thousand men, and made with the greatest ardour preparations for a new campaign. He convoked the legislative body, in order to associate it in the common defence; he communicated to it the documents relative to the negociations at Prague, and demanded from it a new and last effort, in order to ensure a glorious peace, which was the universal wish of France. But the legislative body, hitherto silent and obedient, chose this epoch to resist Napoleon.

He was overwhelmed by the common exhaustion, and, without being aware of it, was under the influence of the royalist party, which had been secretly conspiring since the decline of the empire had once more raised its hopes. A commission, consisting of MM. Lainé, Raynouard, Gallois, Flaugergues, Maine de Biran, made an extremely hostile report on the plans followed by the government, and demanded the abandonment of the conquests, and the re-establishment of liberty. This view, very correct perhaps on another occasion, could at that time only lend additional facilities to foreign invasion. Although the confederates had appeared to consent to peace on condition of the evacuation of Europe,

they were, nevertheless, disposed to push the victory to its utmost extremity. Napoleon, irritated by this unexpected and disquieting opposition, suddenly dismissed the legislative body. This beginning of resistance was the harbinger of internal defection. After having extended itself from Russia all over Germany, it was now going to pass from Germany to Italy and France. But everything depended, on this, as on former occasions, on the fate of the war, which even the winter had not suspended. Napoleon derived all his hopes from this quarter, and set out from Paris on the 25th January for this immortal campaign.

The allies were invading the empire at all points. The Austrians were advancing into Italy; the English, who had made themselves masters of the entire peninsula during the last two years, had passed the Bidassoa under Wellington, and were appearing on the Pyrennees. Three armies were hanging on France to the east and the north. The grand allied army, of a hundred and fifty thousand men, under Schwartzemberg, was entering on France, by Switzerland; that of Silesia under Blucher, of a hundred and thirty thousand men, was entering by Frankfort; and that of the north, of a

hundred thousand men, under Bernadotte, had invaded Holland and penetrated into Belgium. The enemies, in their turn, disregarded the fortified places, and instructed in the principles of carrying on war on a grand scale by their conqueror, they marched upon the capital. At the moment when Napoleon was quitting Paris, the two armies of Schwartzemberg and Blucher were upon the point of effecting their junction in Champaigne. Deprived of the support of the people, who merely looked on, Napoleon stood alone against the world, with a handful of veteran soldiers, and his genius, which had lost nothing of its audacity and its vigour. It is a fine sight to contemplate him at this moment; no longer an oppressor, no longer a conqueror, defending foot by foot, by new victories, the soil of his country, his empire, and his renown.

He marched into Champaigne against the two grand armies. General Maison was instructed to stop the career of Bernadotte in Belgium; Augereau, the Austrians at Lyons; Soult, the English upon the Spanish frontier. Prince Eugene was to defend Italy; and the empire, although assailed at its centre,

still extended its vast arms to the heart of Germany by its garrisons beyond the Rhine. Napoleon did not despair of hurling back, by means of a powerful military reaction, this multitude of enemies out of France, and of raising his standards upon the soil of the enemy. He dexterously placed himself between Blucher, who was descending the Marne, and Schwartzemberg, who was descending the Seine; he flew from one army to the other, and beat them both in succession. Blucher was defeated at Champaubert, at Montmirail, at Chateau-Thierry, at Vauchamps; and, when his army was destroyed, Napoleon returned upon the Seine, overthrew the Austrians at Montereau, and drove them before him. His combinations were so powerful, his activity so great, and his manœuvres so certain, that he appeared to be on the point of entirely disorganizing these formidable armies, and, by the annihilation of them, to put an end to the coalition.

But if he conquered wherever he was present himself, the enemy gained ground wherever he was absent. The English had entered Bordeaux, where the standard of the Bourbons was erected; the Austrians occu-

pied Lyons; the army of Belgium was joined to that of Blucher, and appeared upon the rear of Napoleon. The spirit of defection entered his own family, and Murat imitated in Italy the conduct of Bernadotte, and joined the coalition. The great officers of the empire served him still, but feebly, and he did not find in them the zeal and unshaken fidelity of the inferior generals and his indefatigable soldiers. Napoleon had to march anew upon Blucher, who escaped him three times: upon the left of the Marne, by a sudden frost, which hardened the mud, in the midst of which the Prussians were set fast and on the point of perishing; upon the Aisne, by the defection of Soissons, which opened a passage to them at the moment when there was no chance of escape; at Craonne, by the fault of the duke of Ragusa, who prevented a decisive battle, by suffering himself to be taken by surprise in the night. After all these fatalities, which disconcerted his plans, plans the most certain, Napoleon badly supported by his generals, and surrounded by the coalition, conceived the bold design of marching upon St. Dizier, in order to close the outlet of the enemy from France. This bold and

finely-conceived march alarmed for an instant the confederate generals, to whom it shut out the chance of retreat: but stimulated by secret encouragement, without permitting themselves to be disturbed by manœuvres in their rear, they advanced upon Paris.

This great town, the only one of the capitals of the continent which had not been invaded, saw the troops of all Europe entering upon its plains, and was on the point of undergoing the common humiliation. It was abandoned to itself. The empress, nominated regent some months before, had left it and gone to Blois. Napoleon was at a distance. There was not that desperation and enthusiasm for liberty, which alone stimulate the people to resistance; the war was no longer between nations, but governments, and the emperor had taken upon himself alone all public interest, and placed all his means of defence on mechanical troops. There was a great exhaustion; a sentiment of pride, of very just pride, alone inspired their grief at the approach of the enemy, and wounded every French heart, at seeing the national soil trampled upon by armies which had been so long subdued; but this sentiment was not sufficiently strong to rouse

the mass of the people against the enemy; and the intrigues of the royalist party, at the head of which was the prince of Benevento, summoned it to the capital. The allies were notwithstanding engaged on the 30th March, under the walls of Paris; but on the 31st the gates were opened, and they entered by capitulation. The senate consummated the grand imperial defection, by abandoning its master; it was directed by prince Talleyrand, who, for some time, had been in disgrace with the emperor. This *actor*, indebted to every crisis of power, had declared himself against Napoleon; without attachment to party, with a profound political indifference, he foresaw at a distance the fall of a government, and withdrew himself from it; and when the moment to crush it arrived, he was aiding in it with all his means, his influence, his name, and his authority, which he had taken care never entirely to lose. For the revolution under the constituent; for the directory at the 18 fructidor; for the consulate at the 18 brumaire; for the empire in 1804; he was for the restoration of the royal family in 1814. He was the grand master of the ceremonies to power: during a

period of thirty years he had shewn out and shewn in every government. The senate, under his influence, nominated a provisional government, declared *that Napoleon had forfeited the throne; that the right of inheritance was abolished in his family; that the French people and army were absolved from their oath of fidelity to him.* It proclaimed that man a *tyrant* whose despotism it had so long facilitated by its adulation.

Nevertheless, Napoleon, urged by the advice of those about to succour the capital, had abandoned his march upon St. Dizier, and at the head of fifty thousand men, marched upon Paris, in the hope of still preventing the entrance of the enemy. On his arrival, the 1st April, he learned that Paris had capitulated, and he took up a position at Fontainbleau, where he was informed of the defection of the senate and of his forfeiture. It was then, when he saw everything shrinking from him, under his bad fortune, the people, and the senate, and the generals, and the courtiers, that he resolved to abdicate in favour of his son. He sent the duke of Vicenza, the prince of Moskowa, the duke of Tarentum, as plenipotentiaries to the confederates; they were to take

with them, on their road, the duke of Ragusa, who covered Fontainbleau with a division of the army.

Napoleon, with fifty thousand men and his strong military position, could still have imposed the sovereignty of his son upon the coalition; but the duke of Ragusa abandoned his post, treated with the enemy, and left Fontainbleau exposed. Napoleon was then compelled to submit to the conditions of the allies: their pretensions expanded with their power. At Prague they would have ceded to him the empire within the limits of the Alps and the Rhone; after the invasion of France, they offered him, at Châtillon, the possession only of the ancient monarchy; they subsequently refused to treat with him for himself, but only in favour of his son; but now resolved to exterminate the last remains of the revolution in Europe, his conquests, and his dynasty, they compelled Napoleon to an unconditional abdication. On the 11th April 1814, he renounced, for himself and children, the thrones of France and Italy, and in exchange for his vast sovereignty, whose limits had recently extended from Cadiz to the Baltic sea, he received the small isle of Elba. On the 20th,

after the most touching farewell to his veterans, he set out for his new principality.

Thus fell this man, whose name for fourteen years had filled the world. His enterprizing and organizing genius, his restless desires, and his energy, his love of glory, and the immense disposable force which the revolution had put into his hands, had made him the most gigantic being of modern times. That which would have rendered the destiny of another man extraordinary, was scarcely observed in his. Sprung from obscurity, elevated to the supreme power, from a simple officer of artillery become the leader of the greatest of empires, he had dared to conceive the idea of universal monarchy, and, for a moment, he realized it. Having obtained the empire by his victories, he then wished to subdue Europe by means of France, and to reduce England by means of Europe; and he established the military system against the continent, and the blockade against England. This design succeeded for several years; and, from Lisbon to Moscow, he subjected the people and their potentates to his general orders and to the vast sequestration which he had prescribed. But he deviated from this spirit at

the restoring mission of the 18 brumaire. In exercising for his own advantage the power which he had received; in attacking the liberties of the people by his despotic institutions, the independance of states by war, he dissatisfied both the opinions and the interests of mankind; he excited universal hostility, and the nation withdrew itself from him: and, after having been long victorious; after having planted his standard upon the walls of every capital; after having, for ten years, augmented his power, and gained a realm at every battle, a single reverse united the world against him, and he fell—a proof of the impracticability of despotism in the present times.

Napoleon, nevertheless, in spite of the disastrous results of his system, has given a prodigious impulse to the continent. His armies have left behind them the usages, the ideas, and the more advanced civilization of France. European society has been thrown down from its ancient foundation. The people have been mingled together by frequent communication; bridges thrown over rivers, which had hitherto been impassable boundaries; great roads effected in the midst of the Alps, the Appenines, and the Pyrenees, have approximated

their territories; and Napoleon has effected for the *matériel* of states that which the revolution had done for the minds of men. The blockade completed the impulse which the conquest had given; it perfected the industry of the continent, in order to supply that of England, and has replaced the colonial commerce by the produce of manufactures. It is thus that Napoleon, in agitating nations, has contributed to their civilization. He was counter-revolutionary in his despotism as regards France; but, on the other hand, his spirit of conquest rendered him the renovator of torpid Europe, many of the nations of which, sunk in indolence before his coming, have been roused by his approach into life and energy. But in this Napoleon obeyed only his own selfish nature. Born in war, war was his desire, his pleasure; domination his object: he wanted to master the world, and circumstances put it into his hands, in order that he might infuse into it a new existence.

Napoleon represented for France, as Cromwell did for England, the government of the army, which is always established when a revolution is contested; it then changes its na-

ture by little and little, and, instead of being civil as it had been at first, becomes military. In Great Britain, the internal war not being embarrassed with foreign war, because of the geographical situation of the country, which isolates it from other states, when the enemies of reform had been vanquished, the army passed from the field of battle to the government. Its interposition was premature, and Cromwell, its general, still found parties in all the bitterness of their passions, in all the fanaticism of their creed, and he directed alone against them its military administration. The French revolution, taking place upon the continent, found the people disposed for liberty, and their sovereigns consequently leagued together, in apprehension of their being emancipated. It had not only internal, but foreign enemies to combat; and whilst the armies repulsed Europe, the parties overthrew each other in the assemblies. The military interposition occurred subsequently; and Napoleon, finding the factions crushed, their creeds almost abandoned, obtained from the nation an easy obedience, and directed the military government against Europe.

This difference of position greatly modified

the conduct and character of these two extraordinary men. Napoleon, possessed of an immense force, and an uncontested authority, gave himself up in security to his vast designs, and to the part of a conqueror; while Cromwell, deprived of the assent which springs from popular exhaustion, incessantly assailed by factions, was forced to neutralize them by means of each other, and to be to the end a military dictator of parties. The one employed his genius in enterprise, the other in resistance; thus, the one had the freedom and the decision of force, the other the craft and the hypocrisy of opposed ambition. Their position was necessarily destructive of their domination. All dictatorships are temporary, and it is impossible, however great or strong they may be, to hold for any length of time the control of parties, or the occupation of kingdoms. It is this principle which would, sooner or later, have led to the fall of Cromwell (had he lived longer), by internal conspiracy; and that of Napoleon, by the universal rising of Europe. Such is the fate of all power, which, springing from liberty, is not founded upon it.

In 1814 the empire was destroyed; the parties of the revolution had not existed since

the 18 brumaire; all the governments of this political period had been worn out. The senate recalled the ancient family. Unpopular already from its past servility, it lost itself in public opinion, by publishing a constitution, sufficiently liberal, but which placed in the same line the pensions of the senators, and the guarantees of the nation. The count d'Artois came first into France in the quality of lieutenant-general of the realm. He signed, on the 23rd April, *the convention of Paris*, which reduced the territory of France to its limit of the 1st January 1792, and by which Belgium, Savoy, Nice, Genoa, and an immense military *matériel*, ceased to belong to it. Louis XVIII disembarked at Calais on the 24th April, and made his solemn entry into Paris on the 3rd May 1814, after having given, on the 2nd, the *Declaration of St. Ouen*, which consecrated the principles of the representative government, and which, on the 2nd June, was followed by the promulgation of the charter.

At this epoch began a new series of events: the year 1814 was the limit of the grand movement which had taken place during the twenty-five preceding years. The revolution

had been political, as directed against the absolute power of the court, and the privileges of the classes; and military, because Europe had attacked it. The reaction, which then declared itself, reached only the empire, and led in Europe to the coalition; in France to the representative régime: such was its first period. At a subsequent epoch, it contended with the revolution, and produced the holy alliance against the people, and the government of a party against the charter. This retrograde movement must also have its course and its termination. It is not possible henceforward to govern France permanently, but by satisfying the double want which the revolution has inspired. There must be in the government a real political liberty, and in society that substantial good which results from the unceasing progress and development of civilization.

THE END.

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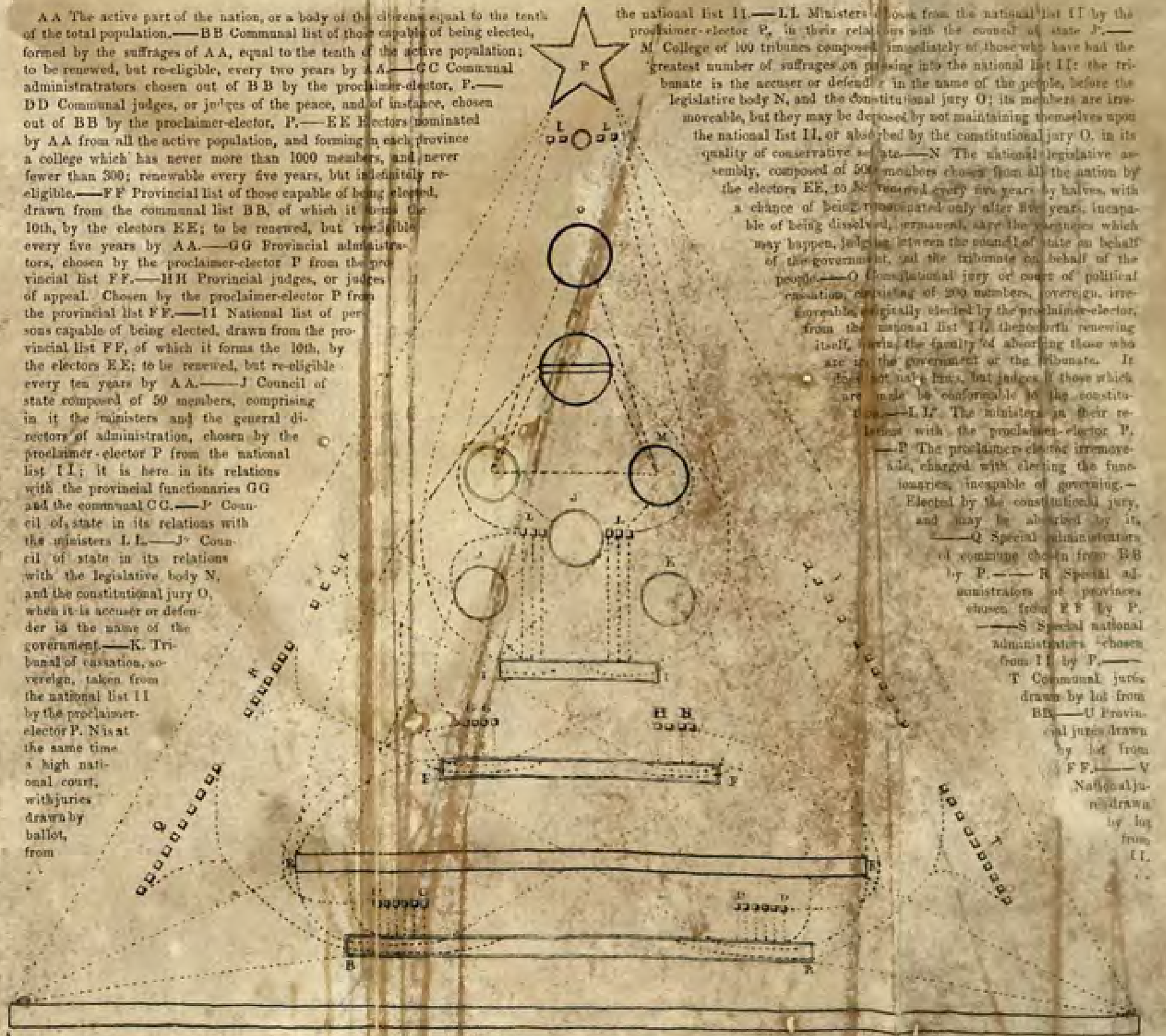

A A The active part of the nation, or a body of the citizens equal to the tenth of the total population.——B B Communal list of those capable of being elected, formed by the suffrages of A A, equal to the tenth of the active population; to be renewed, but re-eligible, every two years by A A.——C C Communal administratrators chosen out of B B by the proclaimer-elector, P.——D D Communal judges, or judges of the peace, and of instance, chosen out of B B by the proclaimer-elector, P.——E E Electors nominated by A A from all the active population, and forming in each province a college which has never more than 1000 members, and never fewer than 300; renewable every five years, but indefinitely re-eligible.——F F Provincial list of those capable of being elected, drawn from the communal list B B, of which it forms the 10th, by the electors E E; to be renewed, but re-eligible every five years by A A.——G G Provincial administrators, chosen by the proclaimer-elector P from the provincial list F F.——H H Provincial judges, or judges of appeal. Chosen by the proclaimer-elector P from the provincial list F F.——I I National list of persons capable of being elected, drawn from the provincial list F F, of which it forms the 10th, by the electors E E; to be renewed, but re-eligible every ten years by A A.——J Council of state composed of 50 members, comprising in it the ministers and the general directors of administration, chosen by the proclaimer-elector P from the national list I I; it is here in its relations with the provincial functionaries G G and the communal C C.——J' Council of state in its relations with the ministers L L.——J'' Council of state in its relations with the legislative body N, and the constitutional jury O, when it is accuser or defender in the name of the government.——K. Tribunal of cassation, sovereign, taken from the national list I I by the proclaimer-elector P. N is at the same time a high national court, with juries drawn by ballot, from the national list I I.——L L Ministers chosen from the national list I I by the proclaimer-elector P, in their relations with the council of state J'.——M College of 100 tribunes composed immediately of those who have had the greatest number of suffrages on passing into the national list I I: the tribunate is the accuser or defender in the name of the people, before the legislative body N, and the constitutional jury O; its members are irremoveable, but they may be deposed by not maintaining themselves upon the national list I I, or absorbed by the constitutional jury O, in its quality of conservative senate.——N The national legislative assembly, composed of 500 members chosen from all the nation by the electors E E, to be renewed every five years by halves, with a chance of being renominated only after five years, incapable of being dissolved, permanent, save the vacancies which may happen, judging between the council of state on behalf of the government, and the tribunate on behalf of the people.——O Constitutional jury or court of political cassation, consisting of 200 members, sovereign, irremoveable, originally elected by the proclaimer-elector, from the national list I I, thenceforth renewing itself, having the faculty of absorbing those who are in the government or the tribunate. It does not make laws, but judges if those which are made be conformable to the constitution.——L L' The ministers in their relations with the proclaimer-elector P.——P The proclaimer-elector irremoveable, charged with electing the functionaries, incapable of governing.—Elected by the constitutional jury, and may be absorbed by it.——Q Special administrators of communes chosen from B B by P.——R Special administrators of provinces chosen from F F by P.——S Special national administrators chosen from I I by P.——T Communal juries drawn by lot from B B.——U Provincial juries drawn by lot from F F.——V National jurie drawn by lot from I I.

Note. The points indicate the relations of the different powers; the points which proceed from the lists of notability and which terminate at the squares denote also the transformation of the candidates into functionaries.

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